Values and the environmental/green movement of South Africa

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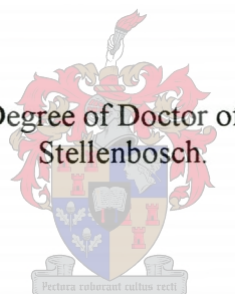

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Abstract

The emergence and growth of the environmental/green movement has been linked to a value shift from materialism towards postmaterialism. In this study, the emergence of the South African environmental/green movement and its growth potential is investigated within the context of Ronald Inglehart's value change theory and its implications for developing societies.

The positive link between postmaterialism and environmentalism is well researched and widely accepted. However, many researchers focusing on developing societies argue that a shift towards postmaterialism does not adequately explain the emergence of environmentalism, because environmentalism is taking root in developing societies despite postmaterialist values not being prioritised. This relationship is investigated by means of a literature study about the values, principles and issues addressed by the environmental/green movement. It is argued in this study that environmentalism can indeed be linked to postmaterialism, but that prematerialist values could also play a role, especially in developing societies.

The South African environmental/green movement is discussed as an example of environmentalism in a developing society. The South African movement is often described as a white middle class movement. It is argued on the basis of a literature study that the movement has changed considerably and incorporates a wide range of interests ranging from more conservative forms of environmentalism to radical political forms of environmentalism such as environmental justice. This change is linked to the concepts of prematerialism and postmaterialism emphasising that both sets of goals seems to be prioritised by different discourses within the movement. Issues concerning both the well-off and the poor are addressed by the movement.

This is followed by an analysis of the 1995 World Value survey data set to obtain a demographic and socio-economic profile of the active members of an environmental organisation and the environmentally concerned. The relationship between active membership of an environmental organisation, the environmentally concerned and the concepts of prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism is also established. The positive relationship between postmaterialism and environmentalism is confirmed, but contradictory results have been found regarding the relationship between prematerialism and environmentalism. This can possibly be attributed to the inadequate survey material that is available. Although active membership of an environmental organisation correlates positively with prematerialism, no relationship could be found between environmental concern and prematerialism. Lastly, a demographic and socio-economic profile of the "don't know" response group has also been compiled as this group is an important target group for the expansion of the environmental/green movement.

Opsomming

Die totstandkoming en groei van die groen- of omgewingsbeweging word gekoppel aan 'n waardeverskuiwing van materialisme na postmaterialisme. Die totstandkoming van die Suid-Afrikaanse groen/omgewingsbeweging en die groeipotensiaal daarvan word in hierdie studie ondersoek binne die raamwerk van Ronald Inglehart se waardeverskuiwingsteorie en die implikasies daarvan vir ontwikkelende lande.

Die positiewe verband tussen postmaterialisme en omgewingsbewustheid is goed nagevors en geniet wye aanvaarding. Tog het verskeie navorsers, veral dié wat op ontwikkelende lande fokus, probleme daarmee. Hierdie navorsers argumenteer dat postmaterialisme nie die totstandkoming van die omgewingsbeweging in ontwikkelende lande voldoende verklaar nie, aangesien die beweging in hierdie lande posgevat het terwyl die prioritisering van postmaterialisme ontbreek. Hierdie verband word ondersoek d.m.v. 'n literatuurstudie oor die waardes, beginsels en vraagstukke wat deur die groen/omgewingsbeweging aangespreek word. Daar word in hierdie studie geargumenteer dat omgewingsbewustheid wel aan postmaterialisme gekoppel kan word, maar dat prematerialistiese waardes waarskynlik ook 'n rol kan speel, veral in ontwikkelende lande.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse groen/omgewingsbeweging word beskryf as 'n voorbeeld van omgewingsbewustheid in 'n ontwikkelende land. Die Suid-Afrikaanse beweging word dikwels beskryf as 'n wit middelklasbeweging. Daar word op grond van 'n literatuurstudie geargumenteer dat die beweging aansienlik verander het sodat dit nou 'n breë verskeidendenheid van belange aanspreek wat wissel van die meer konserwatiewe vorme van omgewingsbewustheid tot die radikale politieke vorme soos byvoorbeeld omgewingsregverdigheid (Eng: *environmental justice*). Die verskuiwing word aan die konsepte van postmaterialisme en prematerialisme verbind. Dit word beklemtoon dat verskillende groeperings binne die groen/omgewingsbeweging verskillende waardes prioritiseer. Vraagstukke wat beide die welvarendes en die armes raak, word deur die beweging aangespreek.

Die literatuurstudie word gevolg deur 'n analise van die 1995 *World Value Survey* datastel. 'n Demografiese en sosio-ekonomiese profiel van die aktiewe lede van 'n omgewingsorganisasie en respondente wat as omgewingsbewus geïdentifiseer is, is opgestel. Die verhouding tussen die konsepte van prematerialisme, materialisme en postmaterialisme en aktiewe lidmaatskap van 'n omgewingsorganisasie aan die een kant en omgewingsbewustheid aan ander kant word ook bespreek. Die positiewe verband tussen postmaterialisme en omgewingsbewustheid, sowel as aktiewe lidmaatskap word deur die data bevestig. 'n Positiewe verband is ook tussen aktiewe lidmaatskap van 'n omgewingsorganisasie en prematerialisme gevind, maar teenstrydige resulte is gevind rakende die verband tussen omgewingsbewustheid en prematerialisme. Hierdie resultate kan egter moontlik beïnvloed wees deur die onvoldoende meetinstrument wat beskikbaar is. Laastens is 'n demografiese en sosio-ekonomiese profiel van die "weet nie" responsgroep saamgestel, aangesien hierdie groep 'n belangrike teiken is indien die groen/omgewingsbeweging wil uitbrei.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Research problem and methodology

1.1 Background to study

The development of the environmental/green movement can be traced to multiple legacies that converged in the late 1960s and 1970s to form the movement. These include preservationist and philosophical forerunners dating back to the 19th century and the anti-authoritarian movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Many regard 19th century romanticism as the philosophical root of the movement which connected individual creativity, happiness and fulfilment with proximity to unspoiled nature. North American environmental historiographers tend to emphasise the influence of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. The well-known British environmental historian, Richard Grove, traces the origin of the movement to the international science networks of the 19th century, in particular the work of Scottish and French scientists, which he links to Scottish and French radical politics of the late 18th century. Researchers working on the German experience, e.g. Anna Bramwell (1989), tend to emphasise 19th century German romanticism. (See also Beinart & Coates, 1995:93-94; Burke, 1989:43; MacKenzie in Griffiths & Robin, 1997:220-226).

In some countries such the United States of America and South Africa, the hunting fraternity played a role in the development of the environmental/green movement. In these countries, the first conservation efforts came from the hunting fraternity who wanted to safeguard the future of their sport. Game numbers had been reduced drastically during the 19th century due to extensive hunting for sport. The hunting fraternity realised that hunting as a sport could only survive if they imposed restrictions on themselves. These first conservation efforts had little to do with recognition of the value of nature (Beinart & Coates, 1995:30-31).

By the middle of the 20th century, the environmental/green movement was a middle class

movement motivated by an aesthetic appreciation of the natural environment and scientific concerns. Scientists played an important role in identifying and raising awareness of environmental problems in Australia and North America (Hay & Haward, 1985:436). Scientific concerns were raised by scientists such as Rachel Carson who published her book *Silent Spring* in 1962. The *Silent Spring* became a best seller, and the effect of agricultural pesticides on the natural environment and human health became a household issue. Carson, a marine biologist, linked traditional wildlife protection issues with urban-industrial ones and also injected a gender dimension into the debate by linking modern science with male imperialism and aggression that exploit and abuse nature. She described nature as having feminine traits. This point of view became a dominant theme in environmental/green politics.

Another scientist who still plays an influential role is the biologist, Paul Ehrlich. He emphasises population growth in third world countries as a danger to the sustainability of human life on earth. Barry Commoner, another biologist, sees overconsumption by developing countries as the major threat to sustainability. He regards the maldistribution of wealth and not the lack of wealth as the main problem. Commoner is regarded as the forerunner of the environmental justice ecophilosophy (Beinart & Coates, 1995:95-97).

By the 1960s and 1970s, environmentalism emerged as a grassroots movement that, together with the other new social movements such as anti-consumerism and the peace, feminist, civil rights and anti-establishment movements, provided a countercultural critique of dominant Western values and structures. Carter (in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:39) regards 19th century anarchism as an important root of the European environmental/green movement, while Papadakis (1984:5-9) and Beinart & Coates (1995:94) trace the movement's origin to the anti-authoritarian movement of the 1960s and 1970s that formed part of the counterculture movement. This counterculture movement included the beatniks, the provos, the hippies and the yippies. The beatniks' main concerns were the destructive potential of nuclear weapons and corruption in society. In Western Europe they rejected the nation-state. The provos in the Netherlands demanded free public transport, the disarmament of the police, a ban on the advertising of alcohol and tobacco and curbs on pollution of the atmosphere. The hippies rejected a structured society. The yippies (or Youth International Party) also rejected societal

structures of the times. The result of the confluence of these legacies is a movement which not only combats real and potential environmental problems, but also provides an ideological critique of Western culture.

A plethora of publications, both academic and popular, appeared on environmental problems, their causes and solutions. This interest, fuelled by wide coverage in the mass media, was followed by a sharp increase in the number of environmental/green interest groups and, later, green parties. The next major breakthrough in the environmental/green movement followed in the late 1970s and early 1980s when European green parties obtained representation in national parliaments. The party that received the most publicity was *Die Grünen*, the German green party, who won 28 seats in the West German Bundestag in 1983. However, the first green parties to obtain representation in their national parliaments were the Swiss greens who won their first seat in 1979 and the Belgian *Agalev* and *Ecolo* who together won nine seats in 1981. (See Parkin (1989) for green election results until 1989.)

South Africa has a long history of environmentalism that manifested itself mainly in the form of preservationism and resource conservationism. Although legislation to protect the environment dates back to the early colonial period, the environment only became a public concern by the mid-19th century. The first game reserve, the Pongola Reserve, was demarcated in 1889 and the first environmental/green interest group, the Caledon Wildflower Society, was founded in 1892, followed by others such as the Transvaal Game Protection Society (1902), the Botanical Society of South Africa (1913) and the Conservation Society of South Africa (1926), later known as the Wild Life Protection Society of South Africa. The Botanical Society is still regarded as very influential today. By 1993, more than 1 000 interest groups were listed in the *Green Pages*, the last year this directory was published (Kahn, 1990:95; Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:15-16).

The policies of the local environmental/green groups reflected the concerns of their mainly white middle class membership. The protection of pristine natural environments and species diversity was the main concern. A few environmental/green interest groups with mainly black membership, such as the Native Farmers Association, the African National Soil Conservation

Association and the African Wildlife Society, came into existence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They never enjoyed much support and did not exist for long. Originally, most environmental interest groups claimed to be politically neutral and focused on scientific analysis of environmental problems. By the 1980s with a growing realisation of the political influences on the environmental movement, the movement became increasingly human oriented (Hanks, 1993:22-23; Kahn, 1990:4-5, 112-113; Mittelman, 1998:850; Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:24).

The more radical forms of environmentalism took root in South African only in the late 1980s, resulting in the founding of three green political parties as well as a national network. The three green parties, the Ecology Party based in Gauteng, and the Green Party of South Africa and Government by the People Green Party, both based in Cape Town, never enjoyed much support, even from within the environmental/green movement. The Green Party of South Africa did take part in the provincial elections in the Western Cape in 1994 but obtained only 0,1% of the vote, while the Government by the People Green Party did little better in the 1999 national and Western Cape provincial elections. The national network, the Environmental Justice Networking Forum, was founded in November 1994 and co-ordinates the activities and campaigns of more than 550 South African interest groups. Vollgraaff (1994) found in a survey of Western Cape environmental/green interest groups that the policies of some of the major players in the environmental/green movement such as Earthlife Africa are similar to those of the European green parties (see also *Die Burger*, 7 May 1994:10; Lincoln, 1991:5l; Mittelman, 1998:864-865; Müller, 1997:115; Slater, 1990:82-83; Independent Election Commission, 1999, http).

Ronald Inglehart's work on value change in advanced industrial societies has been very influential with regard to studies focusing on the emergence and growth of the environmental/green movement. He links the growth of the new social movements, including the environmental/green movement, to the growth of postmaterialism in societies. He found that postmaterialists are more likely to support the environmental/green movement than materialists. Mewes (1985) and Müller-Rommel (1985) reported similar findings. However, researchers concerned with the environment in developing societies such as Brechin &

Kempton (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) have criticised his work.

Inglehart argues that cultural, economic and political phenomena are linked and influence each other. Different elements of culture tend to change together in coherent patterns and economic, cultural and political changes are linked. This makes the prediction of future trends possible. For example, if one can measure change in some cultural characteristics and the economic environment, one is also able to make future projections of change in other cultural characteristics or in the political arena, with more than random success (Inglehart, 1997:66; 1977:69-70).

Inglehart (1997, 1990, 1977) detected, by using survey data especially from the European Community countries, that a shift has taken place in advanced industrialised countries from materialism towards postmaterialism since the Second World War. His research originally dealt with the defining and measuring of one cultural dimension, namely materialist and postmaterialist values. He has since broadened his work to provide a postmodernisation thesis which describes the shift towards postmaterialist values as part of a broader cultural change, namely a change from modernisation towards postmodernisation.

The shift from materialist values towards postmaterialist values can be described as a shift from emphasising material well-being and physical security towards a greater emphasis on quality of life goals. Materialist-postmaterialists values are measured by a 12-item index, consisting of six materialist and six postmaterialist goals. Materialists support goals such as control of inflation, economic growth and economic stability, maintaining order, fighting crime and an adequate defence force. Postmaterialists support goals such as the protection of freedom of speech, more participatory democracy, the establishment of a less impersonal and more humane society where ideas count more than money (Inglehart, 1997:242-243; 1990:56; 1981:884-885; 1977:4, 363; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:339).

According to Inglehart (1997:137), the shift from materialism towards postmaterialism in advanced industrialised societies, in which high levels of economic and physical security have been attained, takes place at an intergenerational level. Firstly, survey data indicates that

postmaterialist values tend to be more prevalent in the younger age groups, who grew up under conditions of economic and physical security, than in the older age groups. Secondly, it indicates that the shift towards postmaterialism takes place when older generations are replaced by the younger generations, not because of a change in individuals' values. This should be taken into consideration in the prediction of future trends.

The European style green parties have similar characteristics to postmaterialists. They focus on postmaterialist issues such as women's rights and gay and lesbian emancipation, as well as the causes of disabled groups and ethnic minorities. The organisational structures of the green parties of Europe also tend to reflect elite-challenging participation structures linked to postmaterialist goals of self-actualisation and self-expression. The demographic and political profile of Inglehart's postmaterialists also corresponds to that of supporters of the environmental/green movement in Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, other countries in the European Community and Brazil. Like the postmaterialists, environmentalists/greens tend to be young, well educated, working in the service and professional sector, and they lean politically to the left (Cohen & Arato, 1984:327-328; Eckersley, 1989:206-207; Hochstetler, 1997:192; Hoffman-Martinot, 1991:74; Hülsberg, 1988:113-116; Inglehart, 1997:242; Kemp & Wall, 1990: 35-36; Markham, 1983:70; Mewes, 1985:1-17; Müller-Rommel, 1985:57; Papadakis, 1984:2; Rüdig, 1988:29; Stouthuysen, 1983:367; Swyngedouw, 1994:458; Viola, 1988:216-217).

Inglehart's postmaterialism and postmodernisation thesis has gained wide acceptance as a valuable tool in the study of European style green parties, especially regarding the development and potential growth of these parties. However, his thesis is criticised by researchers concerned with environmentalism in developing countries. The main criticism of Inglehart's proposition that the growth of new social movements and environmentalism can be linked to the growth of postmaterialism, is that it does not explain the character of new social movements in developing societies or the high levels of environmental concern in these societies. (See for instance Brechin & Kempton, 1994; Knight in Foweraker & Craig, 1990 and Salman as reviewed by Haber, 1996). Inglehart (1997:242) acknowledges this and suggests that in these cases environmentalism can be regarded as reflecting materialist goals rather than

postmaterialist goals as it tends to address survival issues. He mentions developing countries such as China and Mexico where environmental problems are linked to survival goals: severe pollution, for example, can also be regarded as a health hazard. Inglehart, however, does not develop this argument any further or provide a detailed discussion.

South Africa is a good example of an anomaly with regard to the growth of environmentalism and the lack of growth of postmaterialism.

1.2 Research problem

The primary research problem in this study has to do with establishing the relationship between values and support for the environmental/green movement. The aim is to make projections about the potential support for the environmental/green movement in South Africa, and thus by implication, the growth potential for this movement in South Africa. In addressing this research problem, one has to address the validity of Inglehart's value change thesis regarding the growth of the environmental/green movement in developing societies such as South Africa.

South Africa has been included in the World Value Survey since 1981 and it emerges that South Africa is one of only two societies surveyed that are becoming more materialist rather than more postmaterialist. It has also been established that there is very little difference between the different age cohorts in South Africa, in the support for postmaterialist values. This means that intergenerational change is unlikely to have any influence on the growth of postmaterialism. If it is accepted that the growth of the environmental/green movement is linked to a value shift towards postmaterialism, there is very limited potential for the growth of the environmental/green movement in South Africa. The atypical shift towards materialism in South Africa is attributed to the high level of insecurity in the country in a period of political transformation and a struggling economy, with the accompanying prioritisation of survival goals (Inglehart, 1997:268).

A third set of items measuring the same value dimension as materialism and postmaterialism

was introduced in the 1995 World Value Survey in South Africa, namely prematerialism. Prematerialists emphasise goals such as providing shelter and clean water for all people, making sure that everyone is adequately clothed, can go to school, has access to schooling and has enough to eat. Taylor (1998) found that prematerialist values are prioritised in South Africa and that the prematerialist-materialist value dimension is more valid in South Africa than the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension.

However, despite the lack of a shift towards postmaterialism, the green/environmental movement seems to have become more influential regarding public policy and opinion. The wide media coverage of environmental/green issues and campaigns creates the impression of a strong and influential movement. The environmental/green movement was represented in the Consultative National Environmental Policy Process (CONNEPP) in the person of Chris Albertyn, the national co-ordinator of the Environmental Justice Networking Forum. He served in the Management and Advisory Team that steered the process resulting in the drafting of the White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa. Several studies have been completed or are underway about the history of the environmental/green movement in South Africa, such as Reynolds (1989), Vollgraaff (1994), Beinart & Coates (1995), Fiedeldey *et al* (1998), and Kahn (1990 and ongoing). However, there are still large gaps in the research of the movement.

Very little quantitative research has been undertaken focusing on the values and principles of the movement in South Africa and the extent of support for these movements on an individual level. Reynolds (1989) has done a project on attitudes and values concerning the environment in the Johannesburg-Roodepoort suburbs and the Human Sciences Research Council (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) conducted a similar study in Gauteng. The Reynolds study is limited not only geographically, but also in socio-economic terms as it is limited to the white middle class. The Human Sciences Research Council used a broader sample with Gauteng as universe and the survey was conducted in English, Zulu, Southern Sotho and Afrikaans. It appears that no research has been undertaken using a national sample.

As far as can be determined, no quantitative research has been undertaken using the

environmental/green movement rather than the general public as the universe. A major restriction in this regard is the lack of a reliable database. The *Green Pages* (1993), a directory of environmental interest groups, was discontinued after 1993. *On Track* maintains the *South African Environmental Directory* (1999, http) on the Internet. However, this is a listing of paying clients rather than a thoroughly researched database of interest groups and institutions active in the environmental/green sector. The environmental credentials of some of the listed institutions and interest groups are dubious. The Environmental Advisory Unit of the University of Cape Town (Kahn, 1998) has published an excellent directory, but the scope is limited to Cape Town based environmental/green interest groups. Probably the most comprehensive database on environmental/green interest groups is that of the national environmental/green network, the Environmental Justice Networking Forum, which maintains a database of approximately 550 affiliated members. However, this database is not accessible to the general public and researchers.

According to Kahn (1990) and others support for the movement in South Africa is mostly limited to the white middle class section of the population. This raises questions about the demographic profile of the movement and implications for the long-term viability of the movement in a predominantly black society. On the other hand, the more radical sections of the movement, which aligned themselves with the anti-apartheid movement, were in an optimistic mood about their future just before and after the 1994 general election. They considered apartheid the main stumbling block to the growth of the movement and blamed apartheid for the apathy and hostility towards the environmental/green movement by the majority of the South African population. They looked forward to having a much broader support base under a democratic government (Crompton & Erwin in Cock & Koch, 1991:84; Kahn, 1990:119).

Various researchers have found that the salient environmental issues in developing societies do not relate to quality of life issues, but to survival issues such as resource depletion, access to natural resources, health and poverty issues. (See for instance Calman, 1989:954-955; Chowdhry, 1989:142; Gardner, 1995:202-203; Martinez-Alier & Thrupp, 1992:150; Morell & Poznanski in Leonard, 1985:142-144). Vollgraaff (1994) found that the more radical section of the South African environmental/green movement concerns itself with rural development,

and occupational and environmental health issues amongst other issues, and maintains strong links with labour unions. The South African movement succeeded, in particular during the last decade of the 20th century in forming alliances with groups outside its traditional middle class support base around these issues. When making a projection on the movement's potential for growth, the question therefore arises whether there is a positive relationship between the growth of environmentalism in developing societies and the growth of prematerialism, rather than with the growth of postmaterialism.

1.3 Research aims and hypotheses

The aim of this study is to address the lack of knowledge of the environmental/green movement on an individual level in the South African context, using a quantitative approach, rather than focusing on the history of interest groups as Kahn, for example, does (1990 and ongoing). The relationship between the prematerialist-materialist-postmaterialist value dimension and attitudes towards the environment will be emphasised.

The main aim is to discuss the relationship between values and the potential support for the environmental/green movement in South Africa. A second aim is to ascertain the existing membership of the environmental/green movement as well as the extent of environmental concern. A third aim is to identify and compare the demographic and socio-economic profile of the members of the movement and the profile of the environmentally concerned. Lastly, the relationship between the South African environmental/green movement and the environmentally concerned, on the one hand, and prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism, on the other hand, is discussed.

This study hypothesises that:

- The environmental/green movement is a diverse movement linked to prematerialist as well as postmaterialist values.
- There is limited potential for growth of European style green parties in South Africa.
- The potential support base for the South African environmental/green movement is broader than the conventional new middle class.

1.4 Methodology

The methodological approach to this study is both descriptive and quantitative. It consists of a literature study, an analysis of survey data and interviews with opinion makers within the environmental/green movement of South Africa.

As was previously mentioned, the existing and potential support for the environmental/green movement is discussed within the framework of Inglehart's value change theory. The literature study examines Inglehart's work as well as previous research regarding the environmental/green movement. The environmental/green movement is often described a new social movement. The literature study also focuses on the relationship between environmentalism, new social movements and postmaterialism. The concept of prematerialism was introduced in the 1995 South African World Value Survey. The relationship between prematerialist values and environmentalism is investigated by means of both a literature study and survey data.

A comprehensive literature study of the environmental/green movement was done for a MA dissertation at the University of South Africa (Vollgraaff, 1994). The concepts environmental politics, political ecology and green politics were defined and discussed in this study. The factors contributing to the development of environmental/green politics world wide, but especially in Europe and South Africa, were discussed, as well as the principles and policies of the global and South African environmental/green movement. Some suggestions about the ideal political structures for the establishment and growth of European style green parties were also made. That earlier study needs to be extended to include more recent research in South African and the rest of the world. The current literature study includes information from Internet searches to establish the policies and election results of environmental/green interest groups and European style green parties.

The concepts environmentalism, political ecology and the greens are revisited to provide an image to illustrate the complexity of the environmental/green movement and the issues it

addresses. The movement is discussed in the context of Inglehart's value change theory as well as new social movement theory. The values of and issues dealt with by environmental/green movements in developing societies such as South Africa, Brazil and Mexico are also investigated.

The findings of this study are based largely on the analysis of survey data and as such it is based on secondary data analysis. The World Value Survey was developed by Inglehart and others for his research regarding materialism and postmaterialism (later broadened to modernism and postmodernism). Markinor conducted the survey in South Africa in 1981, 1990 and 1995. The universe of the sample design of the first survey excluded all blacks (1981) and the second survey excluded rural blacks (1990). The universe of the 1995 sample design consisted of all South Africans older than 16 and was stratified according to province, population and community size. The 1995 sample size was 2 935 and the data from this survey can be used to make inferences about patterns in the general adult population of South Africa. The concept of prematerialism was also introduced in the 1995 survey (Taylor, 1998:61).

Although the survey was designed to test Inglehart's value change thesis, it does include a number of items regarding the environmental/green movement. It measures active and inactive membership of environmental/green groups. The survey also includes a number of questions regarding willingness to spend more money to prevent environmental degradation or promote environmental projects; environmental activism; and support for a number of environmental issues. These questions were used to construct three indexes to measure environmental concern, namely:

- *Invest in the Environment Index*,
- *Environmental Activities Index*, and
- *General Environmental Index*.

The demographic and socio-economic profile of active members of the environmental/green movement in South Africa and the profile of the environmentally concerned were also established by means of the survey data. The two groups were compared with each other. The demographic and socio-economic profile of the respondents who gave "don't know" responses

are discussed as this group can be regarded as an important contributor to the growth of the environmental movement. The purpose of this analysis is firstly to ascertain whether some sections of the population are more likely than others to be environmentally concerned or active members of an environmental organisation. Secondly, the analysis indicates what sections of the South African population need to be mobilised if the environmental/green movement wants to broaden its demographic and socio-economic base.

The relationship between active membership of an environmental organisation and the environmentally concerned and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values, is ascertained from the World Value Survey data. Deductions on the growth potential of the environmental/green movement are thus made on the basis of the movements's current and potential support base, in relation to support for environmental/green causes and demographic information, as well as the implications for Inglehart's value change thesis.

1.5 Limitations and contribution

This study aims to contribute to political culture theory, especially value change theories. It also aims to contribute to knowledge of environmentalism that is often regarded as a new social movement. A major contribution of this study is that it focuses on environmentalism in a developing society. The majority of research on environmentalism and new social movements is concerned with developed societies.

This study intended to contribute to the theoretical debate on the relationship between value change theories, such as Inglehart's, and the emergence of environmental/green politics. The study does not aim to discuss values as a concept, but rather focuses on Inglehart's value change theory of a value shift from materialist towards postmaterialism. The definition of values as used by Inglehart and the positivist framework within which he works, is therefore used.

Inglehart proposed that a positive relationship exists between the growth of environmentalism and a value shift towards postmaterialism is widely accepted regarding

European style green parties and movements. However, value change theory has been criticised as inadequate for the situation in developing societies. No general theory about the emergence of environmentalism in developing societies has gained wide recognition. Prematerialist values are introduced in this study as a possible solution to this theoretical problem. South Africa is the only country where the concept prematerialism has been introduced in the World Value Survey. Comparative data is therefore not available. This study is therefore only an investigative study that cannot provide conclusive evidence for the relationship between prematerialism and environmentalism in developing societies.

Lastly, the study is intended to contribute to the debate about whether environmental/green politics is or can be a significant force in South African politics. Very little quantitative research has been done on the impact of environmentalism in the political arena and this study will help to rectify that situation.

A major limitation of the study is that it is based on secondary data analyses and the survey used was not primarily designed for the purpose of studying the environmental/green movement. Although the items used to measure environmental concern in the World Value Survey are widely used, they are not ideal for measuring environmentalism in developing societies as environmental/green issues typical of these societies are not included. Thus a major contribution of the study may also be one of its main weaknesses. The study focuses on environmentalism in a developing society aiming to broaden existing value change theory regarding the growth potential of environmentalism in such societies. At the same time the study is conducted in the absence of surveys that were designed from a developing society perspective.

Lastly, the more radical groups within the environmental/green movement claim that their potential support base will expand under majority rule. This cannot be tested as the last World Value Survey was conducted in 1995. The period between the first democratic election in April 1994 and the last survey is probably too short for the new political environment to have any measurable impact on attitudes towards environmental/green issues.

1.6 Chapter outline

The study consists of the introduction and five other chapters:

Chapter 2: *Materialist and postmaterialist values: Cultural change in advanced industrialised societies*

Ronald Inglehart's materialist-postmaterialist index and postmodernisation thesis and the accompanying implications for the political environment are discussed in this chapter. His postmodernisation thesis is used as the theoretical framework in this study.

Chapter 3: *The environmental/green movement*

The environmental/green movement is discussed against the background of new social movement theory and Ingelhart's value change theory. The positive relationship between new social movements, the environmental/green movement in developed societies, and postmaterialism will be shown. This includes a comparison between the social bases, issues and values of new social movements, the environmental/green movement and postmaterialists.

The critique from researchers working in developing societies regarding new social movement theory is addressed as well as the debate regarding the relationship between postmaterialism and environmentalism in a developing world context.

Chapter 4: *The South African environmental/green movement.*

This chapter includes a historical overview of environmentalism in South Africa. It includes the development of the movement in South Africa, the social base of the environmentally concerned and the issues addressed by the movement.

Chapter 5: *World Value Survey: Analysis of data sets and discussion*

The chapter begins with an introduction to the World Value Survey followed by a detailed analysis of the data set relating to the environmental/green movement in South Africa.

Chapter 6: *Conclusions*

The main findings of the study are summarised in this chapter as a background for the discussion of the main research question, namely the potential for growth of the environmental/green movement in South Africa.

1.7 Summary

The purpose of this study is to establish the relationship between values and the environmental/green movement in South Africa in order to make projections about the growth potential of the environmental/green movement in South Africa. The study is conducted within the framework of value change theory.

The environmental/green movement is a global phenomenon. The movement's roots can be traced to the 19th century and it has developed and changed over time. The contemporary movement is often regarded as a new social movement and linked to the growth of postmaterialism. However, this aspect is controversial from a developing world perspective.

The South African movement also dates back to the 19th century. The more radical elements of the movement are a more recent phenomenon dating back to the late 1980s. Although some research has been done on the South African movement, there are still large gaps in knowledge of this movement.

This study aims to contribute to this body of knowledge by firstly ascertaining the demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmental/green movement and the environmentally concerned. Secondly, the relationship between the prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values and membership of the environmental/green movement and/or the environmental concerned will be established. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the main

target group for growth of the movement, i.e. the "don't know" response group, will also be ascertained. Both descriptive and quantitative data will be used in the study.

The theory, concepts and historical background relating to the South African environmental/green movement are dealt with in Chapters 2 to 4. The quantitative analyses using the 1995 World Value Survey follow in Chapter 5. The findings of the study are summarised and discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2

Materialist and postmaterialist values: Cultural change in advanced industrialised societies

2.1 Introduction

As far back as 1971 in an article published in the *American Political Science Review*, Ronald Inglehart argued that a cultural change was taking place in advanced industrialised societies (Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:336). He detected a shift from what he called materialist values towards postmaterialist values. Since then he has continued this research and broadened his original materialist-postmaterialist value dimension to a postmodernisation thesis, showing that this cultural transformation has important implications for economic and political systems (Inglehart, 1997; 1990; 1977).

With his materialist-postmaterialist value dimension and later postmodernisation thesis, Inglehart has made a major contribution to political culture research. His research is widely acknowledged as a valuable contribution to the discussion about the emergence of the New Left and new social movements, which include sections of the environmental/green movement. His research can be used both to explain the cultural changes that created favourable circumstances for the growth of these movements, and to make predictions about future trends.

In this chapter Inglehart's materialist-postmaterialist value dimension and postmodernisation thesis are discussed, along with implications for the political environment. The validity of the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension in South African is also discussed. Inglehart's value change theory is used as the theoretical framework of this study. Thus, the concepts discussed and explained in this chapter are used throughout the rest of the study.

2.2 The concept of political culture

Political culture is a problematic concept. Although definitions abound, it is still a vague

concept and a generally accepted definition still needs to be devised. However, despite the theoretical problems with the concept, it is more widely used than ever due to its usefulness rather than its theoretical soundness.

Although the term political culture was coined in the 1960s by the behavioural movement in political science, differences between nations and groups in what we now call political culture were described and analysed long before the advent of survey research. According to Almond, political culture concepts and categories such as subculture, elite political culture, political socialisation and culture change are implied in ancient and classical literature. The enlightenment and liberal theories of political development of the 17th to 19th centuries can also be regarded as political socialisation and political culture theories. Within the interpretative or descriptive school of political research, the term political culture was conceptualised as the meaning of political life or the meaningful aspects of politics: that something that causes groups or nations to behave in a specific way or explains behavioural differences between groups or nations. This vague conceptualisation of political culture is of very little theoretical use as it gives rise to a wide range of methodologies and divergent explanations and understandings of the political system (Almond in Almond & Verba, 1980:11-14; Verba in Almond & Verba, 1980:397; Welch, 1993:2-5).

Almond (in Almond & Verba, 1980:11-14) and Verba (in Almond & Verba, 1980:397) identify sociology, social psychology and psychocultural anthropology as important intellectual influences on the development of political culture research. The importance of subjective variables in the explanation of social and political phenomena was first recognised in the macro sociological theories of, especially, Weber and Parsons. The discipline of social psychology emerged during the first decades of the twentieth century in an effort to understand and explain how and why attitudes and behaviour of individuals are conditioned and influenced by other individuals and social groups. Psychocultural anthropology added a concern with the way in which basic cultural beliefs and values affect the functioning of political systems and a concern with the origins of such beliefs and values. By contrast with social psychology, psychocultural anthropology concentrated on cultural patterns characterising whole populations rather than individual beliefs and values.

Political culture research only became fashionable in the 1960s after being taken up by the behavioural movement. The behaviourists used quantitative data regarding sociological attributes to make comparisons between groups and nations. This was made possible by the invention, development and increasing sophistication of quantitative research methodologies such as survey research. Researchers used such methodologies to explore whether there were distinctive national characteristics or characters; whether social classes, functional groups and specific elites had distinctive orientations toward politics and public policy; and what role was played by what socialisation agents in the development of these orientations. The development of statistical analysis made it increasingly possible to establish relationships between different attitudes, between social-structural and demographic variables to attitude variables and between social and political behaviour and attitude variables. Crucial to this notion of political culture research is that it is amenable to analysis and measurement by social survey methodologies. Political culture is therefore seen as the aggregate of sociological attributes of individuals. Within the behaviourist school of political culture research, political culture is defined as "a particular distribution of political attitudes, feelings, information and skills" or as "political orientations - attitudes towards the political system....". Almond & Verba's *The Civic Culture* and Seymour Lipset's *Political Man* are the dominant contributions to this school of thought. This approach represents a major advance on the earlier interpretative/descriptive approach in that it entails the development of empirically testable propositions (Almond in Almond & Verba, 1980:15-16; Gibbens in Gibbens, 1989:7; Inglehart, 1988:1204; Topf in Gibbens, 1989: 53; Welch, 1993:3-4).

Despite being widely used during the 1960s, the behavioural approach using quantitative data came under attack towards the end of the decade. A major criticism was that political culture studies often tends to measure behaviour, rather than sociological attributes underlying the observed behaviour as it claims. This results in a tautological argument using behaviour to explain the same behaviour. A second major shortcoming is that political culture theorists tend to reduce the concept of culture to a mere statistical aggregation of values and attitudes of individuals. Thirdly, although the basic assumptions on which political culture studies rests, namely that autonomous and relatively stable cross-cultural differences exist and have political

consequences, seem logical and plausible, very little empirical evidence has been provided. Fourthly, although the explanatory value of political culture theory is emphasised, it is usually used to describe, analyse or order phenomena without explaining anything. Fifthly there are still no consensus on political culture methodology or the meaning and use of concepts such as culture and values which are the building blocks of political culture theories. Lastly, political culture studies has been criticised as ethnocentric and culturally subjective, especially comparative studies such as Almond & Verba (Chilcote, 1981:236; Conradt in Almond & Verba, 1980:213-216; Craig & Cornelius in Almond & Verba, 1980:326-334; Gibbens in Gibbens, 1989:3; Inglehart, 1988:1205; Lane, 1992:362; Sani in Almond & Verba, 1980:275-282; Van Deth & Scarbrough, 1995:27-28; Welch, 1993:32-33; Wiar in Almond & Verba, 1980:103-105).

The use of political culture research has waxed and waned over the years partly because the concept of political culture lacks theoretical soundness. A serious attempt to reconstruct a paradigm of political culture came from Inglehart's theory on value change in advanced industrialised societies. Inglehart set out to explain the events of the 1960s and predicted the growth of unconventional forms of political activity would continue under specified circumstances. Inglehart's predictions have since been supported by survey data and the emergence of New Politics in advanced industrial societies. His thesis also allows for variation between political societies and within political societies (Gibbens in Gibbens, 1989:8-9; Welch, 1993:41-44).

Inglehart believes that the study of political culture is a valid research approach. He argues that the rational choice approach, in vogue since the late 1960s, underestimates the significance of cultural factors in political processes. He attributes the de-emphasising of cultural factors to the fact that they are more difficult to identify and measure than economic indicators. Inglehart believes that his research, spanning almost three decades, is sufficient to disprove one of the major criticisms of political culture research. He argues that his data shows that stable cultural differences do exist between nations. However, short-term fluctuations occur and political characteristics can change over time, as they are not inherent, but linked to social conditions. Inglehart argues that different historical experiences between nations lead to cross-cultural differences. However, a society's cultural characteristics tend to be stable or change very

slowly, despite fluctuating social conditions, due to the process of pre-adult socialisation – in other words, cultural characteristics are learned from generation to generation (Inglehart, 1988:1205-1207).

Inglehart defines culture as "a system of attitudes, values and knowledge that is widely shared within a society and is transmitted from generation to generation" and "by culture we refer to the subjective aspect of a society's institutions: the beliefs, values, knowledge and skills that have been internalised by the people of a given society, complementing their external systems of coercion and exchange" (Inglehart, 1997:15; 1990:19). Inglehart's definition of culture is very similar to that of the behaviourists of the 1960's. However, where Almond & Verba use political culture to study differences between groups and nations, Inglehart identifies enduring value orientations of individuals that cut across ethnic and national boundaries.

Inglehart's political culture research falls in the realm of value change theory. Values is a vague concept: there is no consensus about its meaning. It is debated whether values are real entities that can be observed or whether they are theoretical constructs used by researchers to make sense of the evidence before them. Van Deth & Scarbrough (1995:22, 28, 36, 39-41) support the latter position. They argue that it enables the researcher to avoid many of the pitfalls associated with political culture research e.g. the tautological fallacy of measuring behaviour to explain the same behaviour, and as the problems regarding the vagueness of the concept. They define values as "perceived patterns, limits or constraints among attitudes" and prefer the term "value orientations".

Inglehart (1981:884), however, seems to follow a middle path: "It is difficult to measure values directly. But their presence can be inferred from a consistent pattern of emphasis on given types of goals." Inglehart seems to view values as real entities, but acknowledges that they can only be observed indirectly: values are constructed by the researcher, on the basis of observed patterns relating to choices in sets of goals.

Van Deth & Scarbrough (1995:36, 40-41), on the other hand, describe values as social properties. According to them, values are shared and communicated between people who share a universe of

meaning. They argue that:

- values cannot be directly observed;
- values engage moral considerations; and
- values are conceptions of the desirable.

Van Deth (in Van Deth & Scarbrough, 1995:6-7) agrees with Inglehart that an individual's values are shaped by macro-level developments. According to Van Deth, people's values are highly influenced by their social environment and by their social position in that environment. A person's social position is influenced by macro-level developments, which are in turn influenced by economic growth and technological development. Changing values are therefore a response to changing social positions.

Inglehart thus makes use of a sociological approach to political culture research. He conceptualises political culture as an aggregate of individual sociological attributes, enabling one to describe internal differences within groups or nations and between groups and nations. This idea of variation of political culture within societies is a significant contribution as one of the major shortcomings of work following the Almond & Verba model is the focus on the culture of the political elite and the inability to incorporate subcultures into the theoretical framework.

2.3 Modernisation and postmodernisation: Inglehart's thesis of cultural change

2.3.1 Cultural change

Inglehart proposes that cultural, economic and political phenomena are linked and influence each other. This forms the basis of his postmodernisation thesis as a predictive thesis.

Inglehart's postmodernisation thesis is based on the assumptions that culture, as discussed above, is measurable and that cultural values are congruent with political and economic values. Cultural values do not change in isolation from the political and economic environment and specific cultural values do not change in isolation from other cultural values. Cultural elements

tend to go together in coherent patterns and economic, cultural and political changes are interrelated. This makes the prediction of future trends possible. If one can measure change in, for example, some cultural characteristics, one is able to make future projections of change in other cultural characteristics as well as in economic and political characteristics, with more than random success (Inglehart, 1997:66; 1977:69-70).

Although Inglehart argues that coherent trajectories of change can be identified which makes the prediction of value changes possible to some extent, he rejects cultural and economic determinism. The complexity of cultural, political and economic phenomena make it impossible to construct comprehensive theories enabling one to make precise predictions of the future. Thus cultural, political and economic phenomena influence each other according to predictable trends, but this does not mean that a fool-proof prediction can be made in any particular case (Inglehart, 1997:7-9; 1988:1220).

2.3.2 Conceptual clarifications: Materialism-postmaterialism, modernity-postmodernity

Ronald Inglehart (1997; 1990; 1977) detected, by using survey data, a change from materialist to postmaterialist values in advanced industrial countries. He later postulated that the change towards postmaterialism is part of a broader pattern, namely a shift from modernisation towards postmodernisation. This proposition was tested and is supported by the analysis of the Euro-Barometer and World Value Survey data sets. In this section the concepts materialism, postmaterialism, modernisation and postmodernisation are discussed, as well as the linkages between them.

The shift from materialist values towards postmaterialist values can be described as a shift from an overwhelming emphasis on material well-being and physical security towards a greater emphasis on the quality of life. Materialist values can also be called survival values as security in various forms is emphasised. Postmaterialist values, on the other hand, emphasise quality of life issues such as intellectual and aesthetic values, including the need for self-expression and self-actualisation and a sense of community. The materialist-postmaterialist value dimension

was originally measured by means of a set of four goals. This index was extended to 12 items and was used in 1973 for the first time. Although the four-item index is still used, the 12-item index is considered to be more reliable and valid and less sensitive to the effects of inflation. Materialists support goals such as containment of inflation, economic growth and economic stability (economic security) on the one hand, and the maintenance of order, fighting crime and the strengthening of the defence forces (physical security) on the other hand. Postmaterialists support goals such as the protection of freedom of speech, the establishment of a less impersonal and more humane society, a more participatory democracy, more participation in decision-making by people in their workplaces and communities, and a society where ideas count more than money (Inglehart, 1997:242-243; 1990:56; 1981:884-885; 1977:4, 363; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:339).

The modernisation process is characterised by extensive changes to the economic, political and cultural environment. Although modernisation is sometimes linked to Westernisation, a similar process has taken place in non-Western societies such as Japan and especially South East Asian societies. Modernisation is therefore a world phenomenon not necessarily linked to Westernisation. During the modernisation process an agriculture-based economy is replaced by a predominantly manufacturing-based economy. Also, the traditional mode of life emphasising personal ties and communal support is replaced by an emphasis on individualism, competition and achievement. Modernisation is further characterised by industrialisation, growing levels of urbanisation, mass education, occupational specialisation, bureaucratisation, the use of science and technology, a reliance on legal-rational authority, relatively high levels of social mobility, an emphasis on achieved rather than ascribed social status, high levels of formal education, diminishing sex role specialisation and the development of communication structures (Inglehart, 1997:8-9, 18, 28, 66; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:347).

All these changes are linked to cultural, social and political changes such as higher standards of material well-being, a higher life expectancy, lower birth rates, greater penetration by government and increased mass political participation. Modernisation is characterised by bureaucratic hierarchical institutional structures as found in the mass production assembly belt type of factory, old style labour unions, mass political parties and big corporations.

Modernisation can be summed up as an economic, cultural and political system based on economic efficiency, bureaucratic authority, scientific rationality and individuality (Inglehart, 1997:8-9, 18, 28, 66; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:347).

Postmodernism is a problematic concept and is used in many different ways. The term is often used to indicate that people view the world through a cultural filter. An extreme postmodernist position holds that no objective knowledge of the external world is possible, or even that no external world exists at all. Inglehart rejects the notion that cultural construction is the only factor shaping human experience. According to him there is an objective reality in both the natural and social sciences. He acknowledges that aesthetic preferences are largely determined by cultural dispositions and to a lesser extent, social phenomena. One's social disposition is heavily influenced by one's cultural environment, but limited by the realities of the external world (Inglehart, 1997:12-14).

Inglehart uses a narrow definition of the concept postmodernism that is linked to the concepts postmaterialism and value change. He identifies three broad trends in postmodern thought:

- Postmodernism is firstly a rejection of modernity. Modernity is characterised by an emphasis on economic growth and individual competition and achievement. Personal ties and communal support are severed. The emphasis on economic efficiency and productivity tends to lead to working conditions where a worker becomes just another cog in a much larger machine. Together with centralisation and bureaucratisation, this leads to a feeling of lack of control over one's life. Postmodernists conceptualise these circumstances as inhuman working conditions, stripping the worker of self-autonomy and creativity and leading to a feeling of alienation. They question these costs of modernisation and suggest alternative lifestyles.
- The second trend emphasises the effect of modernity on tradition. The emphasis on legal-rational authority and scientific rationality has devalued traditions of pre-modern society. Many old traditions are reappraised positively by postmodernists, especially non-Western traditions. There are exceptions such as attitudes towards women's roles in society, family structures and religion.
- Lastly, postmodernism has introduced new values and lifestyles characterised by more tolerance for cultural, ethnic and sexual diversity and individual choice of lifestyle (Inglehart, 1997:23-25).

Inglehart's definition of postmodernism includes aspects of all three of the above trends. Postmaterialist goals are valued in a postmodern society. Where modernity emphasised economic growth and individual achievement, postmodernity emphasises quality of life goals and the creation of a more humane society as well as a reappraisal of community life and some traditional values (Inglehart, 1997:12, 28). Bureaucratisation with its accompanying centralised hierarchical structures is rejected in favour of individual self-expression and control. All kinds of authority are de-emphasised, whether religious or secular, allowing a much wider range for individual autonomy in the pursuit of quality of life goals (Inglehart, 1997:72-76).

2.3.3 From materialism towards postmaterialism and modernity towards postmodernity

Inglehart regards this cultural transformation from modernity to postmodernity as a reflection of changing socio-economic circumstances and rising educational levels since the Second World War. His thesis as to how this transformation is taking place, is based on the scarcity and socialisation hypotheses and is discussed in this section.

2.3.3.1 Scarcity and socialisation hypotheses

The postmodernisation thesis is based on two hypotheses, namely the scarcity and socialisation hypotheses. These two hypotheses together provide an explanation both for short-term fluctuations or period effects and long-term trends regarding the level of materialism and postmaterialism in political societies. The two hypotheses are described as follows:

- the scarcity hypothesis: people place the greatest subjective value on that which is in short supply. Socio-economic circumstances therefore influence the levels of materialism and postmaterialism in society.
- the socialisation hypothesis: people's values are formed predominantly during their pre-adult years. This means that there is a time delay or cultural lag between changing socio-economic circumstances and an observable value transformation (Inglehart, 1997:33; 1981:881; 1977:22-23).

This scarcity hypothesis is similar to the principle of diminishing marginal utility in economic theory and complementary to the Maslow's well-known hierarchy of needs which attempted to identify the underlying motivation of individual human behaviour. According to Maslow, people tend to prioritise physiological/survival needs (e.g. food and shelter) above non-physiological needs such as self-esteem, self-expression and aesthetic satisfaction. Although Maslow introduced a strict hierarchy of needs, Inglehart argues that no hierarchy of needs can be determined after physiological/survival needs have been satisfied. Maslow's hierarchy forms the basis of Inglehart's division between materialist (economic and security) values and postmaterialist (quality of life) values and his assumption that materialist values will be prioritised under conditions of economic and physical insecurity (Inglehart, 1997:33; 1981:881; 1977:22-23).

Inglehart's use of Maslow's needs hierarchy has been criticised. Flanagan (1987:1308-1309) argues that the Maslow's hierarchy is a psychological theory, developed to understand the circum-stances under which an individual develops into a mature adult. However, Inglehart deals with a vastly different phenomenon – that of values in the public domain. The use of Maslow's needs hierarchy is therefore inappropriate. Eckersley (1989:216) argues that Maslow's hierarchy has been widely discredited and that this undermines any thesis built on it, including that of Inglehart. Inglehart (1997:33) maintains that Maslow's hierarchy has been valuable in shaping the survey items used to measure value priorities, but he acknowledges that it does not hold up in detail.

In the 1980s, acknowledging that Maslow's needs hierarchy is not a sound theoretical foundation for his theory, Inglehart introduced the principle of diminishing marginal utility in support of his scarcity hypothesis in the 1980s. This principle is well known to economic theorists. According to the principle of diminishing marginal utility, great wealth is created through the modernisation process. Modernisation together with the rise of the welfare state leads to the rise of the material living standard as well as greater equality in advanced industrialised societies. Modernisation, however, has psychological and spiritual costs such as the loss of self-autonomy and creative opportunities. As these societies became more and more equal, the material returns become less and less acceptable in proportion to the costs. In a

perfectly equal society, redistribution of income can be only towards inequality. Therefore, the closer a society comes to attaining perfect equality and a high material living standard, the less members of that society can gain from the process. They will therefore be less and less inclined to pay the costs to uphold the modernisation process which generates this wealth and equality. Attainment of physical and economic security thus leads to prioritising non-material goals which were lost to a large extent during the modernisation process. When economic and physical security declines, this process can be reversed in the short or long term (Inglehart, 1997:258-259; 1987:1291-1292; 1981:881).

Inglehart's socialisation hypothesis implies that one's values tend to reflect the socio-economic circumstances during one's pre-adult years. He argues that there is sufficient evidence that the statistical likelihood of basic personality change declines sharply after reaching adulthood. He refers to longitudinal studies spanning up to 35 years regarding personality traits. These studies have found a high correlation between standardised personality scales taken from young adulthood to middle age or even old age. This does not mean that people cannot change drastically during their lifetime, only that it is unlikely (Inglehart, 1981:882).

The socialisation hypothesis has a number of implications for the political system. Firstly, if a society's socio-economic circumstances change over a relatively long period, one can expect the values of younger birth cohorts to differ from those of older birth cohorts. The faster economic growth takes place and therefore the bigger the difference between birth cohorts socio-economic circumstances during their formative years, the bigger will be the difference in values between birth cohorts. Secondly, a society's values do not change overnight. One can expect a time lag between a change in socio-economic circumstances and an observable change in political culture and values. The effect of changing values on the political system will only become evident once a birth cohort is old enough to vote. It will take even longer before members of such a birth cohort will reach positions of power and influence and can have a more direct influence on the political system (Inglehart, 1997:132; 1981:882; 1977:22-23).

According to Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis, read together with the principle of diminishing marginal utility and Maslow's needs hierarchy, and his socialisation hypothesis, one can expect

that, controlling for other factors, people who experience similar socio-economic circumstances during their formative years tend to share the same values. One can also expect that people who experience economic and physical security during their formative years will tend to prioritise postmaterialist (quality of life) values. These hypotheses form the basis of Inglehart's argument that value change in societies takes place through intergenerational replacement. This aspect is discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.3.3.2 Causes of value change

Inglehart argues that due to high levels of economic and physical well-being in advanced industrialised countries since the Second World War, people who grew up during this period place less emphasis on material and physical well-being and more on non-material or postmaterialist needs.

If Inglehart's thesis is correct, one should find higher levels of postmaterialism in younger birth cohorts than in older birth cohorts in any society that has experienced significant economic growth, as the younger birth cohorts would have experienced more economic security than the older birth cohorts. One would also expect to find a larger difference in levels of postmaterialism between birth cohorts in societies that have experienced higher rates of economic growth than in those societies that have experienced slower growth rates.

Since the Second World War, advanced industrialised countries have experienced high levels of economic growth. The real income per capita doubled in virtually all Western countries during this period, and in some cases it tripled or quadrupled. Higher individual income combined with welfare programmes created economic security in these countries. Most industrialised countries also experienced an absence of total war during this period, creating a sense of physical security. Inglehart hypothesises that people who grew up under these conditions of almost assured economic and physical security tend to take the fulfilment of survival or materialist needs for granted. They therefore tend to prioritise needs that cannot yet be taken for granted, such as self-actualisation or postmaterialist needs. Although the transformation of values is more pronounced in advanced industrial countries, the

transformation process is linked to prosperity. It is taking place in all societies that have enough economic growth to ensure that the younger birth cohorts experience significantly higher economic security during their formative years. The member states of the European Community, the USA, and countries in Eastern Europe have, for example, experienced growth in the level of postmaterialism that mirrors economic growth. Survey data shows an even steeper growth in the level of postmaterialism in Asian countries such as Korea and Japan which have experienced higher economic growth than Western and Eastern Europe and the USA (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995:136; Inglehart, 1997:143-149; 1990:56; 1977:9).

The shift towards postmaterialism is also linked to social and cultural changes resulting from modernisation such as the expansion of education, technological advances and the development of communication networks, as well as changes in occupational structures linked to the process of postmodernisation.

Technological advances have led to new industries, with the accompanying change in occupational structures and the development of mass media and communication networks stretching over international boundaries. Where the modernisation process was characterised by the replacement of agriculture by industrial-based industries as the predominant economic sector, the postmodernisation process is characterised by the replacement of industrial-based industries by the information and service sector as the dominant economic sector. The information or service sector needs organisation and management structures that are different to the bureaucratised hierarchical structures that characterised modernity. As innovation is important for the effective delivery of services, flexible structures are needed with limited control systems that allow decentralised decision-making. This change in occupational structures coupled with the expansion of higher education over the last couple of decades and the abundance of information available due the development of the communication sector, has produced a better informed, better educated population who are used to participating in decision-making (Inglehart, 1997:29, 163; 1977:6-11).

Educational levels show a very strong link with the rise of postmaterialism. Some researchers such as Davis, Duch & Taylor and Warwick believe that the shift towards postmaterialist values

is the result of higher levels of formal education (Davis, 1996:327-331; Warwick, 1998:584-585). Warwick (1998:584-585) argues that education enhances an individual's skills and ability to access information and thereby a person's political efficacy and involvement. Schools in democratic societies also play an important socialising role instilling democratic and participatory values.

Inglehart & Abramson do not see higher educational levels as the main cause of the value shift towards postmaterialism. They acknowledge that postmaterialism correlates positively with educational level, but argue that the relationship between these two variables is substantially reduced when one controls for security at a formative age. They argue that educational level can be linked both to a person's material well-being and to a higher level of cognitive skills. Inglehart found that level of education is a good indicator of the parents' socio-economic position and therefore also the respondent's socio-economic position during his/her formative years. Abramson & Inglehart suggest that education taps a number of variables such as indoctrination, the respondent's current socio-economic status, the parent's socio-economic status, the historical era when the respondent was born and educated, the degree to which the respondent acquired various skills and the respondent's information level, since these skills make it easier for the person to acquire information. Educational level is therefore an intermediate variable rather than the cause of the value shift (Abramson & Inglehart, 1996:453-455; 1995:86-87).

The implication of the socialisation hypothesis is that this transformation in socio-economic circumstances will not have an immediate effect on the predominant values in society. One should find that values remain relatively stable within birth cohorts in the long-term and that value change in societies is the result of intergenerational replacement. The implication of the scarcity hypothesis is that one should find short-term fluctuations or period effects.

Survey data shows both a long-term trend and short-term fluctuations as predicted by Inglehart. He found that the younger birth cohorts who grew up under circumstances of economic and physical well-being tend to be more postmaterialist that the older birth cohorts. Survey data from the European Community for the period 1970 to 1994 shows that birth cohorts are

consistently more postmaterialist than the preceding birth cohort. Those born between 1966 and 1975 are the most postmaterialist followed by those born between 1956 and 1965. This pattern continues with those born before 1915 being the most materialist, in other words, the least postmaterialist. The birth cohort born between 1946 and 1955, in other words, those born just after the end of the Second World War, seem to form the watershed birth cohort. It is the oldest age cohort in which the number of postmaterialists roughly equals the number of materialists. The period before and during the War was characterised by economic hardship in Europe, while the continent enjoyed high levels of economic growth during the post-war years. There is also evidence of short-term fluctuations or period effects. These fluctuations correspond to the inflation rate and economic recessions in the relevant countries. During times of economic recession and higher inflation, all birth cohorts became more materialist (Abramson & Inglehart, 1994:339-341; 1987:232-233; Inglehart, 1997:136; 1985:506-509, 511; 1981:885; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:459-460).

Whether this shift in values is linked to intergenerational replacement or to life cycle effects is a contentious issue. It has already been shown that there are short-term fluctuations within every birth cohort. One can also speculate that people will place more emphasis on economic security goals as they grow older and their responsibilities regarding property and family increase. However, Abramson and Inglehart believe that survey results show that value change towards postmaterialism is not linked to life-cycle effects, but rather that society's values are transforming through intergenerational replacement (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995:55; 1987:323).

Abramson & Inglehart acknowledge that life-cycle effects cannot be ruled out completely, but regard it as a less plausible interpretation of the data. According to Abramson & Inglehart, Shively & Glenn have shown that one can never definitely choose between a life-cycle and a generational explanation on statistical grounds alone, for in any cohort matrix the age of the cohort is a perfect function of its date of birth and the time that the survey is conducted. However, although the percentage differences between postmaterialism and materialism within birth cohorts are relatively stable in the long-term, the total percentage difference rises from –29 to –10, a 19 point gain. The most plausible explanation seems to be that the total population is becoming more postmaterialist as the younger more postmaterialist birth cohorts

replace the older more materialist birth cohorts. The thesis of intergenerational replacement therefore seems to be the most plausible explanation for the growth of postmaterialism (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995:55; 1994:339-341; 1987:323).

2.3.3.3 Conclusion

Inglehart proposes two hypotheses, the scarcity and socialisation hypotheses, to explain the emergence of postmaterialism. These two hypotheses provide an explanation both for short-term fluctuations and the long-term trend in the growth of postmaterialism.

Postmaterialists are not anti-materialists, but emerged as a consequence of economic growth and modernisation. The modernisation process is characterised by economic growth providing the secure environment that enables people to prioritise postmaterialist values. Inglehart stresses that postmaterialists give higher priority to postmaterialist values than materialist values, but that does not mean that they do not regard materialist values as important.

We can thus expect to find higher levels of postmaterialism in wealthier and more secure societies. Postmaterialism is also more likely to take hold in the wealthier and better educated strata of society, but this does not mean that only the rich tend to be postmaterialist. Although it can be accepted that the rich are more secure than the poor, it is rather the cultural and socio-economic setting in which people grow up that influence them. In fact, survey results show that postmaterialists are more likely to be found in societies with high levels of subjective well-being. This correlation, however, does not hold at an individual level. Postmaterialism thrives in societies which consider themselves well off, but postmaterialists themselves do not feel satisfied with life. This discrepancy can probably be attributed to the fact that postmaterialists are still in the minority in all societies and are therefore at odds with the majority values in their societies (Inglehart, 1997:46, 86-87).

2.4 Implications of cultural change for the political system

As economic, cultural and political values are interrelated, the changes in economic and cultural values have a far-reaching impact on political structures.

Postmodernisation is a process characterised by a change in cultural values, including a shift from materialist goals towards postmaterialist goals. This change in values is echoed in a change in salient political issues. New issues in the political arena reflect life-style concerns rather than economic issues. In a modernised society issues such as economic growth and defence capability are emphasised, but in societies which are becoming more postmodernist issues such as environmental protection, abortion rights, ethnic conflicts, women's issues and gay and lesbian emancipation are becoming increasingly salient (Inglehart, 1997:236; 1977:12-13, 16).

The second implication of Inglehart's research is that the meaning of left and right wing politics is changing. He shows that the class-based political cleavage is gradually been replaced by a value-based political cleavage as the dominant political cleavage, and that the social basis of support for left and right wing politics is changing (Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:456).

In the early phases of industrial society, the population tends to be divided between a large mass of poorly paid workers and a small number of owners and managers. The latter group has a much higher income and leads a completely different life-style. Economic issues, particularly the distribution of wealth therefore tend to form the dominant polarising issues in industrial societies, with the worker class and their unions in favour of social change and the middle class (those who own and manage the means of production) in favour of the status quo. Social change and the redistribution of wealth have become associated with left wing politics and defence of the status quo with right wing politics. It is generally assumed that the worker class forms the support base of the left wing and the middle and upper classes the support base of the right wing (Inglehart, 1997:237-238; 1981:890; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:456-457; 1985:488).

However, the meaning of the left and right is changing as political polarisation becomes less and less based on social class and more and more on values. With the emergence of materialism-postmaterialism values, non-economic issues are becoming the main polarising issues. The new salient issues identified earlier in the section have little to do with economic or materialist values, but rather with quality of life or postmaterialist values. The issue loading on the left-right scale of the Euro-Barometer 1984 shows that New Politics issues and not economic and social class conflict issues are the strongest indicators of left and right self-placement. In other words, left and right for Western publics today are not defined in terms of class conflict, but rather the polarisation between the goals emphasised by postmaterialists and the traditional social and religious values emphasised by materialists. Left is still associated with support for social change and right for the protection of the status quo. What has changed is what social change entails (Inglehart, 1997:237-238; 1987:1301; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:458).

The relationship between class and left-right self-placement is also growing weaker. The so-called new class forms the core of the New Left. The new class, also known as the new middle class, has attracted a lot of attention in the literature. However, there is no clear definition of the new class. Inglehart (1997:237-238; 1981:881, 895) describes them as highly educated and well-paid young professionals and technocrats who take an adversary stance toward their society. Detleft Jahn (in Gibbens, 1989:146) calls this group the counter-elite. The counter-elite shares the same cultural background and socio-economic status as the elite – those who makes decisions and put them into effect – and the sub-elite. While the sub-elite, who are mainly employed in the administrative and industrial sectors, try to become the elite, the counter-elite, who are mainly employed by the service sector, sympathise with social change.

Currently, the New Left is a change-oriented political grouping, challenging modernised industrial society, and promoting a more humane society based on postmaterialist values such as self-expression, freedom of speech and participatory democracy, while the right still defends the status quo of industrialism. The New Left enjoys disproportionate support from the new class, the traditional support group of the right. On the other hand, the right is increasingly gaining support from the lower income groups who view the protection of the status quo as the securing of jobs (Inglehart, 1997:237-238; 1987:1297; 1985:488; 1977:366-367).

Lafferty & Knutsen found that the traditional left-right axis and the New Left-New Right axis polarising the public according to New Politics issues are two separate axes measuring two separate phenomena. They distinguish between the two axes by calling the traditional economic based axis the materialist left-right axis, while using Inglehart's terminology of the materialist-postmaterialist axis for their value based left-right axis. Inglehart regards this finding as confirming rather than contradicting his value change theory (Inglehart, 1985:490).

Inglehart believes that the materialist-postmaterialist axis is gradually replacing the materialist Left-Right axis as the dominating political cleavage in Western publics. According to Inglehart, the economic conflicts emphasised by Marx, which formed the basis of the traditional left-right axis are becoming less central to political life. Survey data shows that New Politics parties such as the greens have more potential electoral support than Communist parties. Among birth cohorts born before the Second World War, communist support outweighs New Politics support by 2:1 to 3:1. In the cohort born between 1946 and 1955, the New Politics parties are slightly stronger than the Communists, and among the two youngest birth cohorts, support for the New Politics parties outweighs support for the Communists by 2:1 and 4:1 (Inglehart, 1997:237-238; 1987:1301; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:467-478).

Inglehart explains these changes by means of the principle of diminishing marginal utility and the embourgeoisement of the worker class. As one moves closer to an equal income distribution, the political base of support for further redistribution of income becomes narrower. Further progress towards equality will come less and less an issue of self-interest and more and more an issue of the public's sense of justice, social solidarity and other non-material motivations. It seems that there is a tendency for the pursuit of economic self-interest to reach a point of diminishing returns in advanced industrial societies in the long run and to give way gradually to postmaterialist motivation. Economic development and the success of the welfare state in advanced industrial societies lead to a more equal distribution of wealth and less difference between the life-styles of the worker class and the middle class. This, in turn, lead to worker class to be less inclined to take part in protest politics for social change (Inglehart, 1987:1291-1292; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:456).

A third implication for the political system is a decline in patriotism and loyalty to national institutions. The postmaterialists are more likely to support supranational institutions and at the same time tend to be more parochial, i.e. identify themselves with local structures and groups. For example, in some advanced industrial countries such as Canada and Spain there is a demand for the transfer of authority away from national structures towards more immediate units with more cultural coherence such as Quebec and Catalonia respectively. This trend should not be confused with xenophobic nationalism associated with the far right. The postmaterialists are also more likely to support supranational structures such as the European Union and the North American Free Trade agreement. This should be seen as a withdrawal of support from a centralised hierarchical nation-state and a move towards more local autonomy, and at the same time a growing openness to broader ties (Inglehart, 1997:303-304; 1977:14-15).

A modernist society is characterised by large, bureaucratised hierarchical organisations with centralised decision-making structures such as mass parties and large labour unions. These organisations are dominated by elites. Decision-making takes place at the level of elites and the ordinary member's contribution is usually limited to choosing between elites by means of membership of a party and voting. Postmodernisation and related postmaterialist values emphasise spontaneity, self-expression and a less hierarchical society. Postmodernisation therefore leads to higher levels of political participation as well as a difference in the style of participation. Younger, better educated birth cohorts show higher levels of political interest and discussion, but lower levels of party loyalty, than older birth cohorts. Consequently, loyalty to traditional parties and voter turnout during elections are stagnant or declining. Direct participation to promote specific issues or to oppose policies is, on the other hand, becoming more and more common. Inglehart calls this transformation in political styles a change from elite-directed participation towards elite-challenging participation. The source of change is a better informed public with the higher levels of education and better political skills which characterise a postmodernist society. Political participation changes from support for political parties or other political groups towards debate and active promotion of specific issues. Political parties associated with the New Left such as the European style green parties tend to be less hierarchical with

more decentralised decision-making structures (Inglehart, 1997: 43-44, 169, 311; 1977: 293-294, 300-301).

2.5 Criticisms and discussion

It seems that Inglehart's thesis has been widely accepted within the field of political science. His thesis, confirmed by his research, provides a plausible explanation for the rise of new cleavages and new forms of political participation. Few of the criticisms of Inglehart's theory have required him to modify his theory significantly (Gibbens in Gibbens, 1989:9-10). However, some of the criticism is noteworthy.

One of the major debates around the methodology used by Inglehart has to do with rating versus ranking. Inglehart uses ranking, requiring respondents to choose between the twelve items in his materialist/postmaterialist index. Researchers such as Bo Reimer (in Gibbens, 1989), Milton Rokeach (Gibbens in Gibbens, 1989:11; Inglehart, 1997:114) and others discussed by Inglehart (1997:114) argue that this methodology is unacceptable as it forces respondents to make choices that would never be required of them in the real world, thereby creating artificial cultural constructs. They suggest that the twelve items should be individually rated by the respondents. When the rating system is used, the distinction between materialists and postmaterialists disappears as respondents tend to rate all or most of the twelve items high. Accepting rating as the only methodologically sound measuring method therefore nullifies Inglehart's thesis.

Inglehart insists that ranking is methodologically sound. He stresses that postmaterialists give priority to quality of life needs, not because they do not value security needs, but because they take the satisfaction of those needs for granted. Rating will not indicate priorities, which is the basis of Inglehart's thesis. Inglehart futher argues that an analysis of the survey data shows that the twelve items are rated according to a predictable pattern and not randomly. One can therefore argue that prioritisation or choice between groups of needs does have a sound theoretical basis (Inglehart, 1997:115; Inglehart in Gibbens, 1989:255-256).

The validity of Inglehart's four-item and twelve-item value indexes is also questioned. According to Davis & Davenport (1999:649-650), most researchers accept the logic of Inglehart's thesis. However, some researchers question firstly whether materialism and postmaterialism are enduring value orientations and secondly, whether materialism and postmaterialism are as central to people's political beliefs and values as Inglehart suggests. Davis & Davenport themselves question the validity of the four-item and twelve-item indexes used to measure materialism/postmaterialism, i.e. whether the indexes measure an underlying value dimension.

Materialism/postmaterialism is measured by asking respondents to indicate their most desirable and second most desirable goal from a four-item index of two postmaterialist and two materialist items. If a person selects the postmaterialist goals as most and second most desirable, (s)he is classified as postmaterialist. If a person selects the two materialist goals as most and second most desirable goal, (s)he is classified as materialist. If the person selects one materialist and one postmaterialist goal, (s)he is classified as mixed.

Davis & Davenport (1999:651-652) argue that the percentage of respondents that chose two materialist goals exceeded chance. This is especially the case in the years that inflation was very high. However, they argue that the percentage of respondents that chose two postmaterialist goals do not exceed chance with the exception of three years. In the period 1992 to 1994, the percentage of materialists, mixed and postmaterialists are close to what is predicted by chance alone. They interpret this finding that Americans (the sample used was Americans) are becoming less materialist, but not necessarily more postmaterialist. They also argue that the choice of goals seems to be random and does not measure an underlying value orientation.

Inglehart & Abramson (1999:665-667) retort that both the four-item and twelve-item indexes have been subjected to extensive validation by social scientists from various countries. Factor analyses have shown that the individual items relate to each other in the theoretically expected way. They also question the methodology Davis & Davenport used in finding that the choice of goals was random. Davis & Davenport argued that if 33% or less of the respondents choose a second most desirable goal from the same category as their first most desirable goal, the

response pattern can be regarded as random. Inglehart & Abramson argue that the correct approach is to determine whether a respondent who has chosen a postmaterialist goal as most desirable is more likely to choose a postmaterialist goal as second most desirable than a respondent who has chosen a materialist goal as most desirable. The results show that this is the case. In the 1994 survey, for example, 32.2% of the respondents who chose maintaining order as their most desirable goal, also chose fighting higher prices as their second most desirable goal. In contrast, only 23.3% of those who have chosen more say and 17.3% of those who have chosen protecting freedom of speech as their most desirable goal, chose fighting prices as their second most desirable goal.

Davis & Davenport (1999:650, 652-653) also argue that the two indexes, especially the four-item index, are sensitive towards the economic context. Their criticism focuses on one of the two items measuring materialism, namely "fighting higher prices". They argue that in an economic context where unemployment is the main source of economic insecurity, respondents may select a postmaterialist item as a first or second most desirable goal instead of "fighting higher prices", with the result that the "mixed group seems to be larger and the materialist group smaller than it should be. The period when a higher percentage of respondents chose two materialist goals than what can be explained by chance alone, was the years when high inflation was a serious source of economic insecurity in the USA. In the period when inflation was not that high, the choice of goals seems to be random, according to Davis & Davenport.

Clarke *et al* (1999:638-641) also criticise the inclusion of the item "fighting higher prices" in the value index. According to them, inflation is not always a salient issue in advanced industrial societies. It is therefore possible that respondents not experiencing economic security may select a postmaterialist item as their second most desirable goal, as there are no economic goals besides fighting prices to choose from. These respondents will then be classified as mixed types. Clarke *et al* consider "fighting unemployment" a more reliable indicator of economic insecurity than "fighting higher prices". They found that respondents are more likely to choose "creating jobs" than "fighting higher prices" if they have the opportunity to do so. They conclude that the index is sensitive to the economic context and responses might be skewed if the index does not allow people to express their economic concerns.

Inglehart & Abramson (1999:673-674) answer their critics by questioning Clarke *et al*'s use of a single survey to refute findings based on time-series data. Although Inglehart & Abramson agree that unemployment can be used as an indicator of materialist values, they consider it an ambivalent measure. Inglehart did use unemployment as an item in his first surveys, but discarded it because he found to be a less effective indicator of materialism than inflation. Both materialists and postmaterialists may regard unemployment as a desirable goal, but for different reasons. The materialists may make unemployment a high priority, because they fear the poverty that may result from it. Postmaterialists, on the other hand, may prioritise unemployment out of a sense of solidarity with the less privileged. It is therefore a less reliable item to distinguish between materialists and postmaterialists.

Davis & Davenport (1999:655) also found additional indications of the randomness of choice of goals. According to them, if the three sets of four goals in the twelve-item index are separately correlated with the four-item index, the correlation coefficients are much lower than expected, namely 0.21, 0.27 and 0.26 respectively. Inglehart & Abramson (1999:668) replied that these coefficients are relatively strong for individual-level survey data.

In addition, Davis & Davenport (1999:660-662) did not find a relationship between the materialism-postmaterialism value dimension and social issues, as expected according to Inglehart's theory. They argue that the materialist-postmaterialist index cannot be used to reliably predict positions on various political and social issues or a person's attitude towards key social and political issues, social movements and social groups.

Inglehart & Abramson (1999:669) argue that Davis & Davenport excluded social values that have been linked to the materialism-postmaterialism value dimension such as religious, social and sexual norms. They also overlook research showing that this value dimension contributed to the growth of elite-challenging political behaviour. Instead they focused on traditional left-right issues which are, on the basis of the theory, not expected to be salient issues for postmaterialists. Inglehart & Abramson also question the methodology used by Davis & Davenport to study the relationship between the materialism-postmaterialism value dimension

and social issues. Davis & Davenport have broken the original index up into two dichotomous variables, namely materialist, that combines the postmaterialists with the mixed types, and postmaterialists, that combines the materialists with the mixed types. This method reduces the explanatory power of the values index.

Another major criticism is made by Flanagan (1987:1303, 1307-1308). Although he agrees with Inglehart that the meaning of the terms Left and Right is changing and that there is a shift from economically based values to non-materialist based values, he argues that Inglehart collapsed two separate value orientations in his materialist index.

Flanagan argues that Inglehart's concept of materialism actually measures two distinct value orientations, namely materialism and authoritarianism. Flanagan defines the concept materialism in terms of economic concerns only, thus excluding physical security concerns. Materialists then, are those who place a high priority on a stable economy, economic growth, fighting rising prices, securing a high-paying job, adequate housing and a comfortable life. He regards the second set of items, namely support for strong defence, law and order and fighting crime, as part of a separate value orientation, namely authoritarianism. These items are part of a larger cluster of values such as respect for authority, discipline and dutifulness, patriotism, intolerance for minorities, conformity to customs and support for traditional religious and moral values. The introduction of the authoritarian value orientation provides an explanation for the emergence of the New Right (Flanagan, 1987:1304-1305).

Flanagan also does not accept Inglehart's explanation for the decline of class as the basis of left-right self-placement. He regards as plausible Inglehart's explanation for why the new class, whose families have traditionally supported the right for economic reasons, may be induced to vote left as a result of their socialisation into postmaterialist values, but not his explanation for why the worker class is increasingly supporting the right. According to Flanagan, conservative parties do not protect the economic interests of the worker class and the realignment via embourgeoisement applies only to the most affluent section of the worker class (Flanagan, 1987:1305).

Flanagan provides an alternative explanation. He distinguishes between two separate polarising dimensions, namely old left-right and the new left-right dimensions. The old left-right dimension is based on economic concerns and is similar to the concept of materialist left and right or traditional left and right as discussed earlier. The new left-right dimension is based on values. The new left is similar to Inglehart's postmaterialists while the new right emphasises authoritarian value orientations as defined by Flanagan. The realignment of left-right self-placement by the worker class can be explained by the new right which mobilises around the protection of traditional values that is drawing worker class support, rather than the old right which mobilises around the protection of the economic status quo (Flanagan, 1987:1305-1306).

The idea that the old left and right and the new left and right are two separate dimensions is not contradictory to Inglehart's theory. In 1985, Inglehart described the materialist-postmaterialist axis as cutting across the traditional left-right axis. In two subsequent articles co-authored by Rabier (1986) and Abramson (1994), a distinction between two separate axes is again made. In the 1994 article the new left-right axis is described in similar terms to Flanagan's as "This new axis... characterized by radical reform parties and movements at one pole and right authoritarian parties and movements like the Christian Coalition, the National Front, the Republikaner at the other." (Inglehart, 1997:251; 1985:488; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:336; Inglehart & Rabier, 1986:470).

However, Inglehart still believes that his materialist index is measuring one value orientation and not two as suggested by Flanagan. Lafferty & Knutsen (as discussed by Inglehart) confirm this. They found that the materialist and postmaterialist indexes indicate "pervasive and coherent" values and concluded that the materialist-postmaterialist axis represents a highly constrained ideological dimension. This pattern of item loadings of the materialist-postmaterialist twelve item-battery holds up in 43 societies, including non-Western societies, and follows the same pattern (Inglehart, 1997:124-130; 1985:486-487).

Although Inglehart does not accept Flanagan's criticism that his two different value orientations are collapsed in his materialist index, his understanding of New Politics or value-based politics has developed so that he included both right wing and left wing politics, defined similarly to

Flanagan's libertarian-authoritarian dimension.

Inglehart's thesis is criticised in studies on the environmental/green movement, especially those focusing on developing societies. Inglehart linked the rise of environmentalism with the shift towards postmaterialist values. However, this does not explain the rise of environmentalism in developing societies dominated by survival goals. This relationship between the environmental/green movement and value change is discussed in Chapter 3.

2.6 Prematerialism/materialism/postmaterialism and South Africa

The main research question in this study is whether the environmental/green movement has significant growth potential in South Africa. The relation between the materialism-postmaterialism dimension and the environmental/green movement in general, and in South Africa in particular, is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. However, the validity of the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension in a society such as South Africa has been questioned.

South Africa and Iceland are the only two surveyed countries that are becoming more materialist rather than more postmaterialist. Inglehart does not regard this as contradictory to his thesis, but attributes it to period effects or short-term fluctuations. He argues that South Africa experienced severe insecurity during the 1980s. This political instability continued in the 1990s with the democratic transformation process and widespread violence is still continuing. These period effects produced a sense of insecurity, rather than the security that contributes to postmaterialist values. This situation is unlikely to change if one takes both short-term and long-term trends into account. South Africa has very few postmaterialists and there is little difference between the values of the young and older birth cohorts. Intergenerational replacement is therefore unlikely to bring about much change (Inglehart, 1997:156, 268; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994:350).

Taylor (1998) undertook a study to test the validity of Inglehart's assertion that the trend from materialism towards postmaterialism is found not only in advanced industrial societies, but in all societies that experience industrialisation and economic growth. Her study was based on an

analysis of the 1995 World Value Survey in South Africa. A third index, namely a prematerialist index consisting of six items, is included in the 1995 South African World Value Survey.

The prematerialist index taps basic survival needs. Taylor (1998:40) believes that the items of this index correspond more closely with physiological needs, the primary needs, of Maslow's needs hierarchy. The items of the prematerialist index included in the World Value Survey are based on earlier research by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) regarding the dominant needs of South Africans, as well as needs and values expressed during the Poverty Hearings initiated by the South African Non-Governmental Organisation Coalition (SANGOCO) in partnership with the South African Human Rights Commission and the Commission on Gender Equality (Taylor, 1998:2-3).

Although South Africa's GNP and per capita income classifies the country as an upper-middle income country, the distribution of income is very skewed. Hunger and economic insecurity are still rife across the nation with 40% of South Africans living in poverty. It is estimated that 29% of the population are unemployed. In 1995, the unemployment rate amongst the poorest quintile was 59%. Of this poorest fifth of the population, 93% were black and 58% lived in rural areas. Income is also skewed according to gender. Job creation was identified as the strongest theme in the Poverty Hearings, followed by land, housing, water and transport. Research by Idasa concluded that jobs, crime, housing and education were identified by South Africans as the top four priorities that should be addressed by government (SANGOCO, 1998a:8-13; Taylor, 1998:2-3).

Although South Africa has an industrialised sector which has the characteristics of modernised industrial society as identified by Inglehart, a large percentage of the South African population are still struggling just to survive. If one accepts Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis that a person prioritises that which is in short supply, and his adaptation of Maslow's needs hierarchy, namely that physiological needs are a person's primary needs, it follows that a large percentage of South Africans will prioritise basic subsistence needs such as water, land, shelter, clothing, food and education. The prematerialist index was designed to tap these values. However, materialist values are also sometimes referred to as survival values. It is therefore necessary to distinguish

between materialist and prematerialist values. Prematerialist values are about basic subsistence needs such as water, land, shelter, clothing, food and education: they contain the notion of survival as a key element. The materialist values, on the other hand, assume that personal survival as a given and relate to a secure and comfortable life-style (Taylor, 1998:47-48, 67).

The prematerialist index is as follows:

- providing shelter for all people
- providing clean water for all people
- making sure that everyone is adequately clothed
- making sure that everyone can go to school
- providing land for all people
- providing everyone with enough food to eat (Taylor, 1998:67).

Taylor found that there is negligible support for postmaterialist values in the country and that the prematerialist-materialist dimension is a more valid indicator of political cleavage than the materialist-postmaterialist dimension. She also found that some of the support for postmaterialist values in past surveys was probably due to a constrained choice, as support for these values lessens with the introduction of prematerialist values (Taylor, 1998:151).

Of the 18 value priorities included in the World Value Survey in South Africa - six prematerialist, six materialist and six postmaterialist – two prematerialist items are amongst the three most desirable goals, "providing shelter" and "making sure that everyone can go to school". Three of the top six items ranked as desirable were prematerialist values and three were materialist values. The highest ranking postmaterialist value, namely "giving people more say in their work and community", was ranked at number ten. The other five postmaterialist items were ranked as the five least desirable goals. She also found by means of a factor analysis that the prematerialist and materialist items loaded on the principal factor, with the exclusion of the materialist item "making sure that all people are fully employed", while postmaterialist items loaded on a second factor. Furthermore, postmaterialist items were found to be consistently inconsequential across race, income, class, gender, age, party identification and education groups (Taylor, 1998:82-83, 88-89).

Taylor concluded firstly that the prematerialist-materialist value dimension is a more valid value dimension for the South African public than the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension. A second conclusion is that there is no visible trend towards postmaterialism in South Africa. The majority of the population is concerned with prematerialist and materialist goals (Taylor, 1998:131-132, 149).

If one accepts Inglehart's proposition that environmentalism is linked to postmaterialism and that the majority of the South African population is concerned with prematerialist and materialist goals, environmentalism has a very bleak future in South Africa. However, this perceived relationship has been criticised by researchers working on environmentalism in developing societies. This relationship between environmentalism and postmaterialism is discussed in Chapter 3. The relationship between prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism and environmentalism in South Africa is discussed in Chapter 5, using the World Value Survey data set of 1995.

2.7 Summary and conclusion

Ronald Inglehart's materialist/postmaterialist dimension and postmodernisation thesis can be regarded as a major contribution to political research in advanced industrialised societies. No serious criticisms undermining the basic principles of his thesis have been levelled.

Inglehart continues in the behaviourist tradition of political culture research by defining political culture as the aggregate of sociological attributes of individuals in a society. This approach enables him to make comparisons between societies as well as within societies. He argues that economic, cultural and political values and attitudes are linked. Therefore, if one can measure economic and cultural values and attitudes, one is able to make predictions about future trends regarding political values and attitudes.

Inglehart hypothesised, in the wake of the social upheaval of the late 1960s, that there is a shift from materialist values towards postmaterialist values. Materialist values entail the prioritisation

of economic and physical security goals, and postmaterialist values the prioritisation of quality of life goals. This shift in values is attributed to the relative wealth and conditions of peace experienced since the Second World War. The materialism-postmaterialism dimension is tapped with the following twelve-item index consisting of six materialist and six postmaterialist goals:

- control of inflation }
- fight against crime }
- stable economy } materialist goals
- economic growth }
- maintaining order }
- adequate defence forces }

- more say on the job }
- less impersonal society }
- more say in government } postmaterialist goals
- society where ideas count }
- more beautiful cities }
- freedom of expression }

Inglehart's thesis has since been broadened to a postmodernisation thesis. He showed that this cultural transformation has important implications for the economic and political systems. Postmodernisation entails a shift from support for a modern political system characterised by centralised, bureaucratic and hierarchical institutions and elite-directed style of participation towards a postmodern political system. A postmodern political system is characterised by the growth of the New Politics and the accompanying rise of the influence of the new middle class or counter-elite who emphasise decentralised structures and an issue-driven elite-challenging style of participation.

In the almost three decades since 1971, Inglehart and various other researchers have set out to (dis)prove his value change theory. It is widely accepted that the materialist-postmaterialist value index does measure an underlying value orientation. However, Inglehart claims firstly that a value shift from materialism towards postmaterialism is taking place and that this change is

part of a much broader value change. Secondly, he claims that this value change is a world-wide phenomenon found in all societies that have experienced physical security and economic growth. However, most of his research is based on a few advanced industrialised societies in Western Europe. To date, Inglehart has been able to defend his value change theory successfully. His theory is supported by his success in predicting and explaining the changes in political systems since the late 1960s.

Taylor has cast doubt on the validity of the materialist-postmaterialist value index in South Africa. Six prematerialist goals were added to the 1995 Word Value survey in South Africa. The prematerialist goals are:

- providing shelter for all people
- providing clean water for all people
- making sure that everyone is adequately clothed
- making sure that everyone can go to school
- providing land for all people
- providing everyone with enough food to eat

Taylor's finding that the prematerialist-materialist value dimension is more valid than the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension and that some support for postmaterialism in previous surveys could have been the result of a constrained choice. This raises a question about the validity of Inglehart's original hypothesis in developing countries.

The relationship between the shift from materialism towards postmaterialism and the growth of environmentalism is widely accepted. The existence of this relationship is borne out not only by survey data, but also by an analysis of environmental/green movement's values and the issues it deals with. However, most of these studies are based on environmental/green movements in developed societies. Some researchers who focus on social movements and environmental/green politics in developing societies question the existence of this relationship. The concept of prematerialist values is introduced in this study as a possible solution to the perceived invalidity of Inglehart's value change thesis regarding environmental/green politics in developing societies. These aspects will be addressed in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

The environmental/green movement

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the links between the environmental/green movement, new social movements and postmaterialism are explored. The debate on whether the environmental/green movement is a new social movement and related to the growth of postmaterialism is important when discussing the future of the environmental/green movement in a developing society such as South Africa. If there is a positive relationship between a shift towards postmaterialism and the emergence of environmentalism, the environmental/green movement has little chance of establishing itself in a developing society.

The environmental/green movement is a world-wide phenomenon. It developed in diverse communities with diverse environmental problems. The European Green Federation currently represents 28 member parties from Eastern and Western Europe. It has representation in 12 federal governments in Europe and 48 members in the European Parliament, representing 16 green parties from 12 countries. Greens hold cabinet posts in Germany, France, Italy and Finland (Sancton, 1999:27; Association of State Green Parties, 1999, http; European Union of green politics, 1999, http; European Union election results, 1999, http)

The Association of State Green Parties (ASGP) of the USA currently consists of 21 autonomous, state-based green parties, each with its own platform and bylaws. These parties co-operate on a federal level and put up a presidential candidate, Ralph Nader, in the 1996 presidential election. He obtained on average 1% of the vote, obtaining the highest percentage in Oregon with 4% of the vote. At present, 43 greens hold elective office in 11 states in the USA, 22 of them in California. Nader is running for president in the 2000 election as well (Cooper, 2000:30). There are also green parties in Japan, Taiwan, New Zealand and Australia (Association of State Green Parties, 1999, http).

There are green parties in various African countries such as Cameroon, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Guinea, Benin, Burkina-Faso, Mali and Niger. South Africa has produced three green parties to date, namely the Ecology Party founded in 1989, the Green Party founded in 1991 and the Government by the People Green Party founded in 1999. The Green Party took part in the 1994 Western Cape provincial elections and the Government by the People Green Party in the 1999 national and Western Cape provincial elections, both with negligible results. The Green Party obtained 2611 (0,1%) in 1994 and the Government by the People Green Party obtained 9193 (0,06%) votes nationally and 2848 (0,18%) votes in the Western Cape (*Die Burger*, 7 May 1994; Green Pages, 1993:138; Hoogervorst, 1992:3-4; Slater, 1990:82-83; Independent Election Commission, SA, 1999, http; Partidos Verdes da Africa, 1999, http).

European style green parties are however not the only participants in the environmental/green movement. The majority of environmentalists/greens are organised in a myriad of interest groups and networks, some of which view themselves as apolitical while others are politically very active. The best known examples of these groups are the international non-governmental organisations such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and World Wide Fund for Nature. The most influential participants in the environmental/green movements in the developing world are organised as interest groups rather than green parties. Examples of these groups are AGAPAN and the rubber tappers movement of Brazil, the Green Belt Movement of Kenya, the *Chipko* Movement in India and the Environmental Justice Networking Forum of South Africa.

The environmental/green movement has been linked to postmodern or postindustrial political culture by various authors, including Ronald Inglehart. Proponents of this point of view base their opinions on the many similarities between the policies and goals of environmentalism/ greens and the new social movements and the New Left or Left-Libertarian parties, especially in Europe. Survey data of Western Europe also shows that there is a significant overlap between the social base of new social movements, postmaterialists and supporters of green parties and that postmaterialists are more like to support environmental issues than materialists. However, others such as Brechin & Kempton (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) disagree with this viewpoint on the grounds that postmodernism or postindustrialism does not explain the high levels of environmental concern and active environmental non-governmental organisations in developing countries.

This debate on whether the environmental/ green movement is a social movement and related to the growth of postmaterialism is of importance for a developing country such as South Africa. If it is the case, the environmental/green movement does not have much growth potential in South Africa as South Africans tend to prioritise prematerialist and materialist goals (Taylor, 1998:166).

The relationship between the environmental/green movement, new social movements and the prematerialist-material-postmaterial dimension will be discussed in this chapter. It will be shown that the European style green parties are not the only home to the environmental/green movement, but also to other new social movements. These green parties address a broader range of issues than purely environmental matters. It will also be shown that even though European style green parties are active in developing societies, the environmental movement in these societies emphasises different issues than their European counterparts. While quality of life issues are gradually becoming more salient in developed societies, issues regarding physical and economic security as well as survival issues dominate in developing societies.

A major theme in this chapter is the difference between environmentalism in developed and developing societies. Developed society is often used as a synonym for industrialised society. Developing societies comprise of a wide variety of societies in Africa, Asia (except Japan), Latin America (including the Caribbean) and the Middle East that differ in terms of culture, size, resources and level of development. In comparison with developed societies, developing societies:

- have a low income per capita
- have higher levels of population growth
- have populations that tend to have diets deficient in quantity and quality
- have a lower life expectancy
- have a high percentage of the population that is illiterate
- have a lower energy consumption per capita
- have an economy dominated by the agricultural sector
- have export economies that tend to be dependent on primary products, mainly from agriculture and mining (Van der Horst, 1992:13, 60).

Van der Horst (1992:76) classifies South Africa as a developing society, because of its:

- high population growth rate
- declining growth rate of per capita income
- poverty of the majority of people in terms of material wealth
- social development that is on par with its confirmed developing neighbours
- very skewed distribution of income.

The different ways in which environmentalism manifests itself in different societies will be discussed in the context of Inglehart's theory of value change. This theory has been criticised with regard to environmentalism in developing societies for a number of reasons. The main reason is that the link posited between the shift towards postmaterialism and the emergence of environmentalism cannot be sustained in developing societies. This thesis introduces the concept of prematerialist values as a possible solution to the erceived invalidity of Inglehart's value change theory and environmentalism in developing societies. In this chapter it will be shown by means of an analysis of the values and the issues of the environmental/green movement in both developed and developing societies, that these values and issues correspond to both postmaterialist and prematerialist concerns.

This chapter will firstly deal with the concept of new social movements and the relationship between new social movements, environmentalism and prematerialism-materialism-postmaterialism value orientations. Secondly, the conceptual confusion surrounding the concepts green, ecologism and environmentalism will be addressed. Understanding the difference between environmentalism/ecologism in developed societies and developing societies is crucial before the concepts of prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism can be used as the basis for predictions of the future development of the movement in a developing country such as South Africa. This discussion of the environmental/green movement in general will be followed by a detailed description of the environmental/green movement in South Africa in Chapter 4.

3.2 New Social Movements, the environmental/green movement and postmaterialism

Social movements, especially the new social movements, have received much attention in social science literature during the last three decades. Although social movements is an old

concept, the emergence of the new social movements in the wake of social unrest during the late 1960s and early 1970s revived interest in social movement theory. The environmental/green movement is widely regarded as a new social movement and the emergence of these new social movements is conceptualised in terms of a value shift towards postmaterialism and postmodernism (Della Porta & Rucht in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:243-248; Fréchet & Wörndl, 1993:57; Kriese in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:180-183; Munck in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:24; Offe, 1985:833; Routledge, 1992:593; Rüdig, 1988:26).

The two concepts, social movement and new social movements, are discussed in this section. This is followed by a discussion on the emergence of new social movements and the concepts used to analyse the impact of these movements on the institutionalised political system. The purpose of this section is to show the links between postmaterialism, new social movements and the green/environmental movement and to provide the theoretical background for the discussion of the green/environmental movement that is the main focus of this chapter.

3.2.1 Social movements

Although the concept social movement is widely used in social science, there is not complete consensus about what it entails. Some definitions of the concept are broader or narrower than others and different aspects are emphasised. The work of Touraine has been very influential in this regard, although some researchers such as Fréchet & Wörndl (1993:57-58) and Melucci (as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425) find his definition of the concept of social movements too narrow. Touraine (1985:760, 772-775, 785) describes social movements as clearly identifiable groups of people that challenge the dominant cultural discourse. According to him, social movements are always defined by a social conflict between clearly defined opponents with clearly defined objectives. A social movement therefore has a clear sense of its end goal which provides an alternative to the established social and cultural order. Fréchet & Wörndl as well as Melucci argue that less emphasis should be placed on the end goal of the movement. Fréchet & Wörndl also argue that any form of collective action with the purpose of obtaining social change and which

includes the participation of more than a single interest group can be regarded as a social movement.

Tarrow (1996:874) uses Tilly's definition of social movements as "sustained challenges to powerholders in the name of a disadvantaged population living under the jurisdiction or influence of those powerholders". Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson (1989:420) defines social movements as "an organisational field that creates a loosely knit network of groups and organisations that have in common a project of societal change (either progressive or reactionary)." Jamison & Eyerman, also reviewed by Peterson (1989:423), regard a social movement as "a collection of organisations and individual activists that developed in an attempt to realise a collective project, based on specific knowledge interests which distinguish themselves by their alternative character." In the view of Melucci, another author reviewed by Peterson (1989:425), the role of social movements is to instigate institutional change, to produce new elites and to contribute to cultural change. According to Munck (in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:26, 35) the characteristic that distinguishes social movements from other social groups is that the former try to bring about social change. He also emphasises the outsider status of social movements. According to him "The raison d'être of social movements, therefore, is to do the job political parties have left unattended, that is, to represent the excluded." Burstein *et al* (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:277) identify two defining characteristics of social movements. Firstly, social movements demand social and political change and secondly, they function outside established political institutions. It is their outsider status that distinguishes social movements from mainstream institutions.

Burstein *et al* (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:277-278) discuss the outsider status of social movements at length. They argue that there is general agreement on the outsider status of social movements, but considerable disagreement about what this outsider status entails. They reject Tilly and Gamson's views on the outsider status of social movements. According to Tilly, social movements are outsiders because they lack formal representation in government decision-making structures. Gamson regards social movements as outsiders, because they represent people that have not previously been mobilised to participate in politics. Burstein *et al* prefer MacAdam's approach towards the issue. According to them, MacAdam focuses on tactics rather than representation. He describes social movements as outsiders, because of their willingness to use non-institutionalised forms of tactics, i.e.

activities that are not part of the formal political process and are intended to be disruptive, although not necessarily illegal. Non-institutionalised forms of tactics include sit-ins, mass marches and boycotts, but not legally regulated components of the political process such as voting and lobbying; unregulated but nondisruptive tactics such as letter-writing campaigns; and sometimes disruptive but institutionalised forms of participation such as continuous court challenges to proposed regulations. Social movements' willingness to use non-institutionalised tactics does not preclude them from using institutionalised forms of tactics.

A social movement can therefore be described as a collection of actors consisting of individuals, groups and organisations who collectively try to bring about social change. A second defining characteristic of social movements is that they can be distinguished from mainstream social institutions by their outsider status, including their willingness to use non-institutionalised forms of tactics such as sit-ins, mass marches and boycotts.

3.2.2 New social movements

There are a number of characteristics that distinguish new social movements from other social movements. New social movements raise different issues. Whereas the traditional social movements concern themselves with issues typical of Old Politics such as economic and materialist issues, new social movements concern themselves with issues typical of New Politics or postmaterialist issues. Therefore, new social movements do not concern themselves with the traditional or materialist left-right conflict and they do not express class specific interests.

The dominant issues that concern new social movements are:

- the neighbourhood, city and physical environment
- "life-world" issues such as body, health and sexual identity
- cultural, ethnic, national and linguistic heritage and identity and
- the ways in which the generation and communication of information occurs in complex societies (Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:420; Melucci as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425; Offe, 1985:828-829).

The most prominent values common to the above issues are autonomy and identity, both postmaterialist values. New social movements emphasise cultural change and influence their supporters' lifestyles and values. Participation in new social movements becomes an end in itself as the purpose of these movements is partly to create new collective identities, new collective understandings of society and the production of new cultural symbols. This is achieved by the process of participation and not by influencing established political institutions. In contrast to traditional social movements and Touraine's emphasis on an identifiable end goal in his definition of social movements, participation in the activities of new social movements is therefore an end in itself (Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:421; Hochstetler, 1997:201-202; Melucci as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425; Offe, 1985:829).

In addition to emphasising the process of participation, new social movements do not seek to provide an utopian end goal as for example the traditional socialist labour movement does, but propose viable alternatives for present-day situations. New social movements also emphasise global interdependence and the need for international co-operation (Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:420-421; Melucci as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425; Offe, 1985:829).

New social movements are characterised by organisational principles that reflect the values of autonomy and identity such as decentralisation, self-government and self-help and opposition to manipulation, control, dependence, bureaucratisation and regulation. The boundaries that distinguish a new social movement from the rest of society tend to be obscure, as there are often no institutionalised forms of membership. New social movements tend to consist of networks of small groups submerged in everyday life. Although originally these movements were publicly very visible, they have since become less visible and tend to work behind the scenes (Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:420-421; Melucci as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425; Offe, 1985:829).

New social movements have been viewed by many as a means to a more egalitarian society, free of class and ideology with their emphasis on quality of life issues and participatory democracy. They are seen as building self-esteem amongst individual participants and groups by promoting participation, independent decision-making on a grassroots level and challenging the dominant social and cultural discourse. They provide

purpose and a process of action to their participants, thereby giving them a sense of empowerment. This is especially the case in developing societies where new social movements mobilise those on the periphery of society. However, the emphasis on decentralisation and autonomy has declined as new social movements have become more and more institutionalised during the 1990s and have become part of routine politics, rather than an alternative form of politics (Calman, 1989:947-948; Roberts, 1997:138; Tarrow, 1996:877).

New social movements include the environmental/green movement, human and civil rights movement, feminist movement, pacifist/peace movement, anti-nuclear movement, student movement, the gay and lesbian rights movement, alternative lifestyle movement and the Third World movement (Della Porta & Rucht in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:237-248; Fréchet & Wörndl, 1993:57; Hülsberg, 1988:114-1125; Markham, 1983:70; Mewes, 1985:15; Munck in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:24; Offe, 1985:828, 833; Routledge, 1992:593; Rüdig, 1988:26). In developing societies such as those of India and Latin America, the indigenous rights movement and anti-eviction movements (e.g. protecting the local population against evictions due to dam-building programmes) are also regarded as new social movements (Campbell, 1993:88; Carruthers, 1996:1007; Routledge, 1992:593).

3.2.3 New social movements and postmaterialism

New social movements are linked to Inglehart's postmaterialism theory. They share the same characteristics with New Politics and the influence of postmaterialism on the political system as identified by Inglehart (see Chapter 2). New social movements tend to be issue-oriented. Issues often reflect quality of life and not material concerns. New social movements, especially in advanced industrial societies, draw most of their support from the new middle class, the class whose members are the most likely to be postmaterialist. According to Inglehart, the growth of postmaterialist values influenced a change in political style of action, a change that is also reflected in the non-institutionalised and participatory style of action used by new social movements (Della Porta & Rucht in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:243-248; Fréchet & Wörndl, 1993:57; Kriese in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:180-183; Munck in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:24; Offe, 1985:833; Routledge, 1992:593; Rüdig, 1988:26).

Firstly, new social movements are issue-oriented. New social movements emphasise cultural change and quality of life issues such as self-determination, human rights, peace, preservation of physical and aesthetic qualities of the environment, creativity, the accumulation and distribution of knowledge and limits on population and economic growth (Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:420-421; Melucci as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425; Offe, 1985:830-831, 833; Touraine, 1985:779).

Secondly, the emergence of new social movements reflects the decline in the dominance of the traditional or material left-right axis and the growing emphasis on cultural conflicts in advanced industrial societies. The new social movements are not preoccupied with struggles over the production and distribution of material goods and resources, but rather with quality of life issues and the production of symbolic goods. They also do not express the interests of any one economic class (Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:420; Melucci as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:425; Offe, 1985:825, 831; Touraine, 1985:774, 780).

Thirdly, new social movements are dominated by the new middle class, the class whose members are most likely to be postmaterialist. Offe (1985:833) describes new social movements as "class-aware, but not class conscious". This statement refers firstly to the dominance of the new middle class in the social make-up of the new social movements, the same class that dominates the social make-up of postmaterialists. It refers secondly to the point made in the previous paragraph that the concerns of the new social movements are not class specific. Thus, even though the social base of new social movements is dominated by a specific class, their interests are not limited to the interests of that class. Offe refers to Inglehart's work in his description of the new middle class, namely people with a high educational status who enjoyed relative economic security, especially in their formative years and who found employment in personal-service occupations. Inglehart (1997:142) defines the new class as "a stratum of highly educated and well-paid young technocrats who take an adversarial stance toward their society". Gundelach (as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:421) agrees with Offe that new social movements are supported mainly by the new middle class and gives a similar description of the new middle class.

Eder (1985:874-876) also agrees that new social movements are supported mainly by the highly educated and those working in the service sector - characteristics of the new middle

class. However, he uses the term "petit bourgeoisie" and describes them as a powerless group. According to Eder this petit bourgeoisie lack power, because they are not part of the culturally dominant upper class, nor are they part of the economically dominant middle class who own the means of production. New social movements are therefore supported by those on the periphery of power and represent the interests of the political outsider. Burstein *et al* (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:279) and Swyngedouw (1994:457) have similar viewpoints. According to Swyngedouw the new middle class is culturally rich because of their high education levels. This cultural wealth is however not accompanied by material wealth and access to political power. Eckersley (1989:210-213) and Offe (1985:840) are highly critical of this argument as many of the new middle class occupations cannot be described as peripheral. The new middle class expertise in the service sector and control over information technology cannot be described as peripheral in a postmodern world dominated by information services. Offe describes the new middle class as generally economically secure and including some of the most advantaged members of society.

However, the link between the new middle class and new social movements is tenuous in developing countries. The conclusions of Burstein *et al* (1995), Eckersley (1989), Eder (1985), Gundelach (1989), Inglehart (1997), Offe (1985) and Swyngedouw (1994) are all based on analyses of developed societies. Even though Inglehart has used survey data from 43 societies, much of his published work is based on data from the European Community. Participants in new social movements in the developing world, such as the indigenous rights movement, anti-eviction movement and sections of the environmental/green movement, include peasants, the landless and indigenous groups that function on the periphery of society and have little access to positions of power. These movements therefore do represent the powerless, although not the powerless petit bourgeoisie of Eder and Swyngedouw.

New social movements are not supported exclusively by the new middle class in developed societies. The most important other group is the peripheral or decommodified group. Decommodified groups are those whose members' social status cannot be defined directly by their place in the labour market, such as students, retired people, the unemployed and marginally employed youths. Members of these groups usually have a more flexible time schedule than, for example, middle class professionals. This means that they have time to

spend on political activities. New social movements are least supported by the dominant classes in an industrial society, namely the working class and the holders of economic and administrative power (Offe, 1985:832-835).

Fourthly, new social movements reflect the emergence of a non-institutionalised style of political action. Inglehart has identified a change in political style from elite-directed to elite-challenging participation. New social movements emphasise grassroots participation and tend to reject hierarchical and bureaucratic organisational structures. Their willingness to use non-institutionalised forms of political action can also be regarded as one of the distinguishing characteristics of new social movements (Burstein *et al* in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:277-278; Gundelach as reviewed by Peterson, 1989:421; Offe, 1985:829-830).

3.2.4 Emergence of new social movements

The emergence of new social movements is either described in terms of an alienated reaction of the powerless, or in terms similar to those of Inglehart's value change thesis.

New social movements have been described as representing the powerless - Eder's petit bourgeoisie. Participants of these movements are described as the powerless who use non-institutional tactics because they do not have access to formal political structures. Both Eckersley (1989:210-213) and Offe (1985:839-840) criticise this viewpoint and show that the new middle class, the class whose members are the most likely to participate in new social movements, cannot be described as peripheral and powerless.

Munck (in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:24) and Müller-Rommel (1985:61) conceptualise the emergence of new social movements as a reflection of a value change from materialism to postmaterialism. Although Offe (1985:841, 850-851) does not link the emergence of these movements directly to Inglehart's postmaterialism theory, his argument is similar to Inglehart's. Offe links the emergence of these movements firstly to the participants' economic security. However, he considers the participants' current economic circumstances rather than economic circumstances in their formative years as a causal factor. Secondly, he regards the increased level of education as an important factor. According to Offe, a higher educational level increases a person's capacity to think for

him/herself and to question the received interpretations and theories about the world. It also makes people more willing to do so publicly.

3.2.5 The "newness" of new social movements

The "newness" of new social movements is sometimes disputed, especially by researchers working in developing societies. Knight (in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:78-80, 91-92) argues that the recent attention given to social movements, and new social movements in particular, is the result of "intellectual fashion catching up with reality" rather than to a growth in social movement activity. According to him, social movements have always been active in civil society. These movements have only become better known in the past few decades because they have been better researched. Knight does not deny the existence of new social movements, but holds the view that they deal with new issues. According to him the peasant and woman's movements have a long history and deal with old problems. However, he acknowledges that some social movements are genuinely new, e.g. the gay and lesbian rights movement and the environmental/green movement. He also admits he does not have the data to support his argument, because of the lack of research in this regard for the period 1940 to 1965. Offe (1985:829), on the other hand, agrees that the new social movements do not necessarily concern themselves with new issues, but he uses the term new social movements because it gives these issues a different emphasis and urgency. The new social movements are therefore new, not because they deal with new issues, but because they reflect a change in what constitute the salient political issues.

A second argument is that new social movements are a European or Western phenomenon. Salman (as reviewed by Haber, 1996:175) argues that the middle class based European new social movements are not found in Latin American societies. Economic or material issues still dominate in Latin American politics. Knight (in Foweraker & Craig, 1990:82-83) argues in similar vain. According to him, strong class divisions are still found in Latin America and economic issues dominate. The dominating political conflicts are still those between capital and labour and between landowners and peasants.

This argument seems to be valid for developing societies where the conditions conducive to the development of postmaterialist values, namely physical and economic security, are lacking. On the other hand, many social movements such as the *Chipko* movement in India

and the indigenous movements in Brazil and Mexico not only emphasise material issues, but also the need for cultural change, and incorporate new political issues such as self-esteem, autonomy and gender equality. The *Chipko* movement, for example, aims to build the self-esteem of the participants and to promote independent decision-making as an end in itself. It also facilitated the acceptance of women as political actors in societies where political participation is regarded as a male prerogative (Calman, 1989:947-948, 956; Carruthers, 1996:1007; Hochstetler, 1997:211).

The criticism of Salman and Knight, together with the general acceptance of movements such as the indigenous and anti-eviction movements as new social movements in developing societies, show that new social movements do not necessarily emphasise postmaterialist issues. Rather, the distinctive characteristics in this regard are that they are issue-oriented and value-driven. This argument will be taken up in the rest of the çhapter with the environmental/green movement as example.

3.2.6 Influence on political system and estimating success of new social movements

It was stated earlier that new social movements are not only defined by their end goals, but also by their outsider status and willingness to use non-institutionalised forms of tactics. The purpose of new social movements is to challenge the dominant cultural discourse and participants bring about cultural change just by participating. The success of new social movements can therefore not be judged only by their impact on formal policies and established institutions. The movements' social impact on their participants, the promotion of personal and group self-esteem and the creation and dissemination of new cultural discourses should also be considered when their impact and success is judged (Calman, 1989:940-941; Hochstetler, 1997:200-202).

Both Calman and Hochstetler identify a new social movement's ability to produce cultural products and change as a measure of success. Burstein *et al* (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:282-283) identify two additional aspects. The first aspect is whether or not a particular new social movement is accepted by the other participants in the political system as a legitimate representative of a certain set of interests. The second aspect is the ability of the movement to influence institutionalised politics.

The impact of new social movements on institutionalised politics is usually analysed in terms of the concept of political opportunity structure. Political opportunity structure has four dimensions. The first dimension refers to the institutional structure and the last three refer to power relations between the different political actors. The four dimensions are:

- the degree of access to the political system, i.e. the openness or closedness of the formal political process and the ability to enact social change through legislation;
- the degree of stability or instability of political alignments;
- the availability of potentially influential allies within the institutionalised political system; and
- political conflicts within and amongst political elites (Balser, 1997:212-213; Kriesi in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:167-168).

Access to the institutionalised political system is determined by the degree of geographical and functional centralisation as well as the degree to which democratic processes have been institutionalised. Decentralisation implies multiple points of access. Access to a geographically decentralised state should therefore be easier than to a centralised state as the former provides access points at local, regional and national level while there is only limited access to local and regional authorities in the latter. Functional (de)centralisation of power also plays an important role. In states where the judicial and executive arms of government enjoy more or less equal power, there are more access points than in a state where the executive arm dominates. There are more access points to place issues on the political agenda in a country with democratic procedures in addition to the election of legislatures, for example referenda (Kriesi in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:171).

Although states that are geographically and functionally decentralised provide multiple access points to put issues on the agenda, they tend to be less able to respond to these inputs than centralised states. Centralised coherent states with no democratic access have a much stronger capacity to act than decentralised democratic states. On the other hand, although strong states may have a larger capacity to enact policy changes in response to demands, they also have a larger capacity to ignore such demands (Kriesi in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:172).

These last three dimensions of the political opportunity structure refer to a new social movement's ability to play off established groups against each other and the possibility of

obtaining allies within the institutionalised political system. Kriesi (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:184) found the European style green parties that emerged in the 1970s, are seen as the natural allies of new social movements. These parties play an important role in the mobilisation of new social movements. Kriesi links the green parties to new social movements in general, not only the environmental/green movement.

3.2.7 Summary

The environmental/green movement is regarded as a new social movement. Social movements can be defined as individuals, groups and organisations that collectively try to bring about social or cultural change. These social movements can be distinguished from institutionalised actors by their outsider status that includes their willingness to use non-institutionalised forms of tactics.

The emergence of new social movements is linked to the value shift towards postmaterialism. These new social movements share the characteristics of New Politics as identified by Inglehart (see Chapter 2.4). The new social movements are issue-oriented and value-driven. The issues do not reflect the traditional left-right divide and are not class specific. Values such as autonomy and democracy are emphasised by the new social movements and they use elite-challenging forms of tactics.

New social movements are distinguished from other social movements by a number of characteristics. New social movements focus on New Politics or postmaterialist issues such as autonomy, quality of life and identity, whereas the traditional social movements mobilise around economic or materialist issues and interests. The "newness" of new social movements is not necessarily limited to the introduction of new issues onto the social and political agenda, but also to a new emphasis and urgency on some old issues. New social movements are supported mainly by the new middle class as well as the so-called decommodified groups, especially in advanced industrial societies. New social movements use non-institutionalised forms of tactics, emphasise decentralised decision-making and reject bureaucratic and hierarchical forms of organisation. The main purpose is to obtain cultural change and not necessarily to focus on an end goal.

The relevance of new social movement theory to developing societies is questioned. It is especially in these societies that the "newness" of the new social movements is questioned. Materialist issues still dominate in these societies and are addressed by new social movements functioning in these societies. The environmental/green movement is widely regarded as a new social movement. The difference between environmental/green movements in different societies is a good example of this problem and will be addressed in the rest of this chapter.

3.3 Defining the environmental/green movement

Inglehart links the growth of environmentalism to the value shift towards postmaterialism. This link, that will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.4 of this chapter, has been criticised, especially by researchers working on environmentalism in developing societies. This debate is partly due to diverse understandings of what is understood by environmentalism. There is considerable conceptual confusion surrounding the environmental/green movement. Lincoln (1991:2) summarises this conceptual confusion as follows: "Environmentalism is an elusive concept. That it is ideological is indisputable, but since it applies to an immense range of subjective views on what is, arguably, an indeterminate object, environmentalism does not lend itself to precise definition."

The environmental/green movement has followed divergent patterns in different countries. The organisational structure, issues and policies of the movement are closely linked to the history, culture and economic structure of the country, as well as the environmental problems particular to that country. This is particularly evident in discussions of differences between environmentalism in developing and developed countries. Communities and individuals also have wide-ranging views as to what they consider to be part of the environment and therefore what type of issues the environmental/green movement should address. Some consider the environment to include their built and social environment, while others limit it to the natural world. Even those who equate the environment with nature do not agree on whether it includes only pristine environment or cultivated land as well.

The confusion also extends to the type of issues the environmental/green movement deals with. It is therefore necessary to obtain clarity on what is understood by environmentalism and the environmental/green movement before the link between environmentalism and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values can be discussed.

This section focuses firstly on the trains of thought within the environmental/green movement sometimes referred to as types of greens, shades of green, dominant discourses within the environmental/green movement or different ecophilosophies. The environmental/green movement is a complex movement encompassing different worldviews and tactics that relate to different social, political and economic environments. It will be argued that it does not make sense to distinguish between an environmental and a green movement because of the complex interrelationships between the various discourses or ecophilosophies. Lastly, examples of how these different ecophilosophies combine into national environmental/green movements and parties will be given.

3.3.1 Towards a definition of the concepts "environmentalism", "the greens" and "ecologism"

The terms environmentalism, ecologism and the greens are sometimes used as synonyms while at other times they are used to distinguish between subgroups of a broader movement or as denoting different developmental phases of the same movement. Some also argue that the environmentalists and greens should be seen as separate movements (ecologism and the greens are often used as synonyms in this regard) and even that the two movements are in opposition to each other.

Eyerman & Jamison (1989:103), Ferris (in Dobson & Lucardie 1993:145, 149), Vollgraaff (1994:28-29, 127) and Waller (1989:305) have described the environmental/green movement as two separate movements. They defined environmentalism as an active interest in the natural environment. According to this view, the environmental movement promotes the conservation and protection of the natural environment and mobilises around specific environmental problems. The environmental movement does not challenge the socio-economic system as the cause of environmental degradation. The greens/ecologism, on the other hand, are regarded as an ideology that gives an account of the social, economic and political world and prescribes an alternative course of action. The greens or

ecologists provide a critique of post-war industrialism and technophilia and propagate a simpler alternative lifestyle, rejecting the hierarchical, competitive Western lifestyle. This description of the greens is based largely on literature regarding the European style green parties. These parties are strongly influenced by new social movements such as the peace movement, ecofeminism and the counterculture movement that emphasise ideas such as decentralisation or the "human scale" approach, appropriate technology and interdependency - the so-called "web of life".

Sethi (1987), whose work is based on Indian experience, makes a different distinction between environmentalism and the greens/ecologism. (Sethi uses the terms environmentalism and ecologism). He quotes Shiv Visvanathan who defines environmentalism as a "statist strategy" in contrast with the ecology movement which is a community-driven movement. According to Sethi, environmentalism is the strategy followed by the state to manage nature for reasons of trade, tourism and leisure. Conservation is seen by the environmentalists as necessary for the protection of economic resources for the sake of economic growth and not to prevent environmental degradation *per se*. Sethi does not explicitly define ecologism, but he seems to regard it as a community-driven process which acknowledges that environmental issues and the access to natural resources centres around political and economic power. The ecology movement thus places environmental issues within a broader social, economic and political context (Sethi, 1987:570).

This clear distinction is useful in distinguishing between scientific management oriented environmentalists and the more politically radical greens, but fails to represent the complexity of the movements and the interrelationships between the different types of environmentalists/greens within the same interest groups, networks and green parties.

Rüdig (1988:29-30) distinguishes between three types of environmentalists/greens, only referring to the third type as a movement. According to Rüdig, the differences in types of issues and tactics between these three groups have declined since the 1980s. The different types of groups started to work more closely together and participated in joint campaigns. The three types of environmentalists/greens are:

- Traditional conservation groups: Some of these groups can trace their origin to the late 19th century. They are primarily concerned with the preservation of the countryside,

particular animal species, and similar causes and tend to be single-issue interest groups. Nevertheless, in the 1970s some of these groups also participated in campaigns on new environmental issues, e.g. protesting against the use of nuclear power.

- New environmental groups: These groups were mainly formed in the 1970s and tend to focus more on issues of global environmental concern than the traditional conservationists. While some groups adopt a more radical environmental philosophy, others maintain a non-political and non-ideological style, restricting themselves to single-issue campaigning, although they usually span a broader range of issues than the traditional conservationists. Non-institutionalised tactics are sometimes used to attract media attention.
- The radical ecology movement: The movement was at first primarily concerned with nuclear energy. The movement focuses on issues typical of New Politics and uses non-institutionalised tactics such as mass demonstrations, direct action and grassroots mobilisation.

Earthlife Africa (1999, http) uses a typology similar to Rüdig's in their analysis of the South African environmental/green movement. They distinguish between three types of environmentalists/greens, considering only the third type as true greens. These groups are:

- Old-style conservationists: This group focuses on the protection of animals and plants, usually by separating them from what is regarded as the threat. The classic example of this approach is the game reserve, but it can occur on any scale. A social and political analysis is completely absent and old-style conservationists may often claim to be apolitical or above politics.
- New-style conservationists: This group is similar to the first with the exception that they do take the needs of local communities into consideration when proposing solutions and strategies. They acknowledge that the measures to protect the natural environment can only succeed if they are supported by the local community. However, they do not place environmental degradation within the context of the economic, social and political system, but rather propose proper environmental management, including impact assessments and cost-benefit analyses.
- Greens: The greens acknowledge the concerns of old- and new-style conservationists, but recognise that the environmental crisis as the result of the economic and social status quo. The greens believe that humans are part of nature and should develop new

lifestyles and ways of interacting with nature "which will see us working from within our place in the natural system, rather than competing against it".

Earthlife Africa's old style conservationists are similar to Rüdig's traditional conservation groups. Their category of new style conservationists is somewhere between Rüdig's traditional conservation groups and new environmental groups, being closer to the traditional conservation groups. Lastly, Earthlife Africa's greens correspond to Rüdig's radical ecologists.

Brulle (1996:63-74), Eckersley (1992:35-47) and Müller (1997:109-110) make more complex analyses of the different trains of thought than Rüdig and Earthlife Africa. They also refer to ecophilosophies and dominant discourses, rather than different groups or types of environmentalists or greens.

Brulle (1996:63-74) refers to six widely agreed upon discourses in the environmental/green movement. He does not regard them as separate groups, but part of the same diverse movement. These six discourses are:

- Conservationism: This discourse defines a utilitarian and technical/managerial worldview regarding the natural environment. This discourse is based on the view of nature as resources to be used for economic, industrial and social progress. These resources must therefore be managed and developed efficiently to meet long-term human needs.
- Preservationism: This discourse defines a spiritual and psychological relationship between humans and the natural environment. The philosophical root of this discourse can be traced to the work of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau in the 19th century. By the time Thoreau wrote *Walden* in 1854, this discourse was firmly established. This view romanticizes nature and believes in the inherent superiority of pastoral rural life to urban life. It connects individual creativity, happiness and fulfilment with the proximity of unspoiled nature.
- Ecocentrism: This discourse links human survival to the survival of the ecosystem. It originated in the same historical era as conservationism and preservationism, i.e. the 19th century. This discourse only developed into a social movement in the 1960s after the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. The main purpose is to protect the Earth's ecosystem and thereby human health. Brulle's use of the term ecocentrism is

problematic. The term usually refers to deep ecology. The terms, new environmentalists or human welfare ecologists (see Eckersley below), may therefore be more appropriate.

- Political Ecology: This discourse defines the structure of society as the source of ecological problems. One can identify three subgroups within this discourse, namely social ecology, environmental justice and people of colour environmentalism. Regardless of their specific focus, the three subgroups share the view that the social order has to be changed in order to solve environmental problems. These changes to the social order have to take place through a democratic process and include the ending of racial, ethnic and economic exploitation.
  - Social ecology has been influenced by Murray Bookchin. He defined social ecology as "the conviction that the very concept of dominating nature stems from the domination of human by human. So long as hierarchy persists, the project of dominating nature will continue to exist and inevitably lead our planet to ecological extinction".
  - Environmental justice focuses on what is perceived as the disregard of community health and environmental needs by government and corporations. According to this concept, disadvantaged groups based on class, race and gender differences bear the brunt of ecological problems in the form of degraded living conditions, high levels of pollution, inadequate public services and the dumping of toxic waste in their communities.
  - People of colour environmentalism is very similar to environmental justice, but has its own discourse, identity and organisations in the USA. The reorientation of existing civil rights and community organisations to include environmental concerns has been a major focus of this subgroup.
- Deep Ecology: The two key aspects in this discourse are firstly the idea of the interconnectedness of all life and secondly, that all natural things have intrinsic value, or inherent worth.
- Ecofeminism: This discourse relates the domination of women by men to the domination of nature by humanity. Although women activists have been involved in environmental issues since the 19th century, ecofeminism only developed as a distinct environmental discourse during the 1970s.

Eckersley (1992:35-47) distinguishes between five types of environmentalists/greens. Four of these types, namely resource conservationists, preservationists, human welfare ecologists and ecocentrists, correspond to Brulle's typology of dominant environmental discourses. She adds another dominant discourse, namely animal liberationalism.

- Resource conservationists: This group emphasises the prudent use of nature. The main principles of this approach are the prevention of waste and development for the benefit of many. This entails the management of nature to ensure efficient use of natural resources. The concept of waste does not only include the inefficient use of nature, but also the non-use of nature. As a result of this approach nature was not left in its natural state, but "improved". The emphasis on efficiency led to the development of large centralised public bodies of professionals managing nature according to scientific principles. Resource conservationism is the least controversial stream of modern environmentalism/greens, but is severely criticised by the more radical groups in the movement.
- Preservationists: The essence of preservationism is the aesthetic and spiritual appreciation of wilderness, i.e. nonhuman nature that has not, or only marginally, been domesticated by humans. The main difference between the preservationists and resource conservationists is that the latter try to conserve nature for development, while the former try to preserve nature from development
- Human welfare ecologists: The point of departure for this group is enlightened human self-interest, i.e. the long-term survival of human beings. The main goals of this group are a cleaner, safer, healthier and more pleasing human environment. Unlike the resource conservationists, this group does challenge social, political and economic systems as possible sources of environmental degradation that in turn threatens human survival. Human welfare ecologists call for a new stewardship ethic, i.e. the protection and nurture of the biological support system upon which human life depends. This has led to a search for more environmentally friendly lifestyles.
- Ecocentrists: Like the preservationists, the ecocentrists emphasise the protection of wilderness areas and are primarily motivated by aesthetic and spiritual considerations. However, by contrast with the preservationists, the ecocentrists are also concerned with the protection of threatened species, habitats and ecosystems wherever they are situated and irrespective of their utility value for humans. Wilderness is to be protected for its own sake and not primarily because of its aesthetic and spiritual value to humans.

Furthermore, all life is valuable - human or nonhuman, indigenous or exotic - and should be protected.

- Animal liberationists: The roots of this group are in various "humane' societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals that emerged during the 18th and 19th centuries. The modern version of this approach argues that non-human species have intrinsic rights and moral worth independent of their utility for humans.

Müller (1997:109-110) discusses the dominant ecophilosophies in the environmental/green movement. He uses the typology of List who identifies four ecophilosophies, namely deep ecology, ecofeminism, social ecology, and bioregionalism. Müller adds a fifth, namely environmental justice. Müller's discussion of these ecophilosophies is supplemented by descriptions of these philosophies by other authors.

- Deep Ecology: The term "deep ecology" was coined by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in an article in the philosophical journal, *Inquiry*, in 1973. Deep ecologists propose a fundamental change of mentality from anthropocentrism to biocentrism, also sometimes called ecocentrism or transpersonalism. According to the deep ecologists all species, i.e. human, animals and plant life, are equal. They believe that nonhuman species and even some natural forms of water and land merit respect independently of their utility value for or regard by human beings. The fulfilment of human needs and the protection of human life can therefore not enjoy preference above those of other species (diZerega, 1995:239-240; 1996:699; Müller, 1997:109; Wissenburg in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:5).
- Ecofeminism: Ecofeminists link the exploitation of nature to the oppression and exploitation of women and describes both as the result of a society dominated by masculine values. They promote values such as nurturing, care and co-operation which they regard as feminine qualities and reject values such as competition, control, exploitation and aggression that are regarded as masculine (Evans in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:177, 179; Icke, 1990:198-201; Kemp & Wall, 1990:26-27; Müller, 1997:109-110; Parkin, 1989:299; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:164).
- Social ecology: This ecophilosophy was developed by the anarchist Murray Bookchin. He concluded that the environmental crisis is the result of the capitalist society with its hierarchical and bureaucratic structures and emphasis on industrialism and big technologies. According to Bookchin, the only way to prevent an environmental disaster is to create a socialist society characterised by decentralised social and

economic relations and structures and environment-friendly technologies. Social ecology has its roots in both socialism and anarchism (Cooper, 1990:113-114; Müller, 1997:110).

- Bioregionalists: Kirkpatrick Sale is the leading theorist of bioregionalism. Bioregionalists seek to establish small and diverse social communities according to geographical and natural boundaries e.g. waterways and mountains. These communities function as small political entities with decentralised social and political structures (Eckersley, 1992:169; Müller, 1997:110).
- Environmental Justice: Supporters of this ecophilosophy place environmental degradation within the context of social injustice, whether between the rich and poor within a country or between rich and poor countries (Müller, 1997:110-111).

Eckersley's typology and Müller's are both similar to that of Brulle's. Both Müller and Brulle identify deep ecology and ecofeminism as dominant environmental discourses. Müller's concepts of social ecology and environmental justice have been identified as sub-discourses of political ecology by Brulle. However, Müller and Eckersley add another ecophilosophy, namely bioregionalism.

3.3.2. Summary and discussion

The combined typologies of Brulle, Eckersley and Müller give one eight dominant environmental discourses or ecophilosophies, namely:

- Preservationism: A romantic view of nature that emphasises the goodness of a pastoral rural life and connects individual creativity, happiness and fulfilment with proximity to unspoiled nature.
- Resource conservationism: This refers to the efficient management and development of nature to ensure the sustainable use of natural resources on the one hand and the "improvement" of nature on the other.
- Human welfare ecology: This discourse defines human survival as dependent on the survival of the present ecosystem. Participants focus on human impact on the natural environment on a global scale, e.g. pollution, reduction of biodiversity and human ability to destroy the world with nuclear energy and weapons.

- Political ecology: This discourse defines environmental problems in terms of socio-political relations e.g. the distribution of political power and material resources. It includes social ecology, environmental justice and people of colour environmentalism.
- Deep ecology: The two key aspects of deep ecology are firstly, the interconnectedness of all life and secondly that all natural things have intrinsic value or inherent worth. Protection of non-human species is therefore justified in terms of the inherent worth of these species and not in terms of human survival and aesthetic needs.
- Ecofeminism: The exploitation and domination of the earth by humans is related to the exploitation and domination of women by men. Ecofeminists believe that so-called feminine qualities such as nurturing, care and co-operation should be emphasised and so-called male qualities such as competition, control, exploitation and aggression be rejected.
- Bioregionalism: Bioregionalists seek to establish small and diverse social communities according to geographical and natural boundaries. These communities function as small political entities with decentralised social and political structures.
- Animal liberationalists: This discourse defines animals as having intrinsic rights and moral worth independent of their utility for humans. This discourse is not as extreme as that of deep ecologists and usually manifests in various "humane" societies.

Conservationism and preservationism corresponds to Rüdig and Earthlife Africa's traditional or old-style conservationistm Human welfare ecologism corresponds to Rüdig's new environmentalists. Political ecology, deep ecology, ecofeminism, bioregionalism and animal liberationalism correspond to Rüdig's and Earthlife Africa's radical ecologists and greens.

The above typology provides a good fit for the dominant environmental discourses in developed societies. However, researchers such as Carruthers (1996) and Leff (as reviewed by Martinez-Alier & Thrupp, 1992) who focus on developing societies add another two major discourses, namely ecological Marxism and indigenous ecology.

Leff (as discussed by Martinez-Alier & Thrupp, 1992:150) uses the term "ecological Marxism" to describe environmental/green movements in developing countries. As social movements by the poor, they struggle to obtain access and control of resources such as agricultural land and water. He describes environmental problems as the exploitation of the

poor and of natural resources by the rich. The environmental struggle is therefore seen as part of the socialist struggle for greater equality and justice. Viola (1988:232) in a discussion on the Brazilian environmental/green movement uses the term eco-socialists to describe this discourse/ecophilosophy. He considers this discourse/ecophilosophy the second most influential in Brazil by 1986.

Carruthers (1996:1007) adds another environmental/green discourse or philosophy, namely indigenous ecology. According to him, the major environmental/green groups with their large urban, educated middle class social base, are increasingly forming alliances with indigenous movements that represent the poorest and most marginalised sector of the community in Mexico. He uses the term indigenous ecology to refer to alliances between environmental/green and indigenous social movements with the purpose of preserving and promoting traditional ecological knowledge. These alliances reflect the view that indigenous knowledge and practices can provide a model for a sustainable lifestyle for all.

Although discourses or ecophilosophies found in developed societies are also present in developing societies, case studies of the environmental/green movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America have found that the movement tends to mobilise around survival needs. The salient environmental issues in developing societies are:

- problems regarding resource depletion such as soil erosion, deforestation, desertification, overfishing, overgrazing,
- access to resources, e.g. the use of common lands, land reform measures,
- health problems e.g. pollution and insufficient sanitation systems and
- poverty issues (Bryant, 1992:12-14; Calman, 1989:954-955; Chowdhry, 1989:142; Lewellen, 1995:197-207; Martinez-Alier & Thrupp, 1992:150; Morell & Poznanski in Leonard 1985:142-144).

According to Peritore as discussed by Gardner (1995:202-203), environmental activism amongst peasants and indigenous peoples is motivated less by ideological concerns than a survival instinct. Most people tend to become involved in environmental activism only when they perceive a specific threat to their local environment that endangers their survival. These findings correspond to Taylor's findings on the dominant value priorities in South Africa, also a developing society. Taylor's research as discussed in Chapter 2, has shown that South Africans prioritise prematerialist values such as shelter, access to land,

access to clean water, enough food and adequate clothing. It also corresponds to the views of Knight and Salman as discussed in Section 3.2.4 on the "newness" of new social movements. They argue that society in Latin America is still dominated by economic conflicts between capital and labour and landowner and peasant.

3.3.3 Environmentalism and the greens – one or two movements?

It has been shown that diverse discourses or ecophilosophies are found within the environmental/green movement. The combination of these diverse discourses or ecophilosophies differs from country to country and reflects the socio-political history of each country. A few examples to illustrate the diversity within national environmental/green movements will be given in this sub-section. It will also be argued that, because of this diversity within movements, it makes more sense to speak about one movement than two separate movements.

The German *Die Grünen* and the Flemish *Agalev* are both examples of green parties dominated by the New Left (Kitschelt, 1988:727; Rüdig, 1988:3, Thomas, 1995:510). The German green party, *Die Grünen*, see themselves as the voice of various anti-establishment movements. They draw their main support and membership from the anti-nuclear, ecology, counterculture, women's, and since the mid-1980s, the peace movement. They also present themselves as the home for disaffected Social Democrats as well as the Radical Left. This make *Die Grünen* the home of diverse and often conflicting subgroups, namely the deep ecologists, human welfare environmentalists, bioregionalists and political ecologists. The politically more conservative resource conservationists originally also belonged to the party. In fact, this group was the driving force behind the establishment of the party. However, the left and anti-establishment groups emerged as the victors after a series of debates and controversies between the left and right wing within the party regarding party policy and continue to dominate the party (Cohen & Arato, 1984:327; Frankland, 1989:390; Hülsberg, 1988:94-96; Koelble, 1989:209; Parkin, 1989:118, 121-123; Mewes, 1985:15; Rüdig 1985:57; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:13-5, 3-14; Wiesenthal, 1993:11).

The Flemish green party, *Agalev*, was founded in 1970 by a Jesuit priest Luc Versteylen. The name, an acronym for "Anders Gaan Leven" (living differently) reflects the party's critique of western culture. *Agalev* does not regard itself as a traditional party. Like *Die*

Grünen, it has evolved from grassroots groups with a strong anti-establishment influence. It has especially strong roots in a progressive Christian tradition. Its support comes from local Christian groups, groups propagating justice to the developing world and the peace and ecology movements. Unlike *Die Grünen*, *Agalev* does not have links with the radical left (Rüdig, 1985:59; Stouthuysen, 1983:355-357). Stouthuysen (1983:351-354) identifies the preservationists, resource conservationists and political ecologists as subgroups within *Agalev*. Intellectuals and scientists who provided the scientific information and socio-economic theories on which the party's policies are based have also influenced the party. In addition to raising awareness of problems, they provided alternatives that are promoted by the rest of the party and its supporters.

The British Green Party does not fit this pattern of association with the radical left and/or new social movements. The British Green Party is dominated by human welfare ecologists, conservationists and animal liberationists. The Irish and French environmental/green movements are also more conservative than their German and Flemish counterparts. Conservationism and preservationism date back to the 19th century in the USA, but political ecologists, deep ecologists and ecofeminists have been gaining influence since the 1970s (Brulle, 1996:75; Rüdig, 1988:32; Rüdig, 1985:67-68).

The Brazilian, Mexican and Indian environmental/green movements are also diverse. The Brazilian movement include preservationists, conservationists, human welfare ecologists, political ecologists (especially environmental justice groups), ecosocialists and indigenous ecologists (Hochstetler, 1997:206, 210-214; Viola, 1988:211-214, 219-222). The Mexican environmental/green movement also includes conservationists, human welfare ecologists, ecosocialists and indigenous ecologists (Carruthers, 1996:1010, 1014-1016). According to Peritore's (Gardner, 1995:202) analysis of Indian environmental activists and Calman's (1989:954-955) discussion of the *Chipko* movement, the Indian environmental/green movement includes resource conservationists, human welfare ecologists, political ecologists (especially environmental justice groups) and ecosocialists.

The terms environmentalism, ecologism and greens are usually an indication of the user's bias. Environmentalism often denotes a more traditional bias towards preservationism and resource conservationism while "ecologism" usually denotes a more radical bias towards human welfare ecologism, political ecology, ecofeminism, deep ecologism, bioregionalism

and animal liberationalism. The term greens usually refer to the European style green parties. The terminology is however not used consistently. This is especially the case with the term environmentalism. The term green seems to be used more often in European and North American literature while the terms environmentalism and ecologism seem to be preferred in literature dealing with developing societies. The terms environmental/green movement and environmentalism will be used in this work with the intention to be inclusive. This choice can be regarded as arbitrary.

3.4 Postmaterialism, new social movements and the environmental/green movement

Ronald Inglehart's proposition that the growth of the environmental/green movement is connected to the growth of postmaterialism has been very influential in studies regarding the growth of this movement. The emergence of the environmental/green movement has also been linked to the emergence and growth of new social movements. The latter has also been linked to the value shift towards postmaterialism (Dalton in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:296-297; Hay & Haward, 1988:437-438; Hochstetler, 1997:192; Müller-Rommel, 1985:61, 63; Viola, 1988:216-218).

This assumption seems to be borne out by survey statistics. Mewes (1985:17) found that 62% of German green supporters can be identified as postmaterialist (against 22% of the total sample), 35% (against 53% in total sample) as mixed types and 3% (against 25% in the total sample) as materialists. Studies by Schmidt, Fog & Uttiz and Müller-Rommel (all discussed by Müller-Rommel, 1985:58) found that between 50% and 60% of environmentalists/greens are pure postmaterialists who tend to prioritise quality of life issues.

According to the results of the 1990–1993 World Value Survey in advanced industrial societies (Inglehart, 1997:242), only 29% of respondents identified as materialists give high priority to environmental values. By contrast, those respondents who give high priority to all five postmaterialist goals, 68% rank high on support for environmental protection. Furthermore, even though postmaterialists are only twice as likely as materialists to favour environmental protection groups, they are four to ten times as likely

to be active members of environmental protection groups. Postmaterialists are also four to six times as likely to vote for green parties (in countries that have them) as materialists.

Lowe & Rüdig (1986:516) refer to "waves of articles" that use postmaterialist value change as the main explanatory factor for the growth of the greens. According to these articles postmaterialists are more likely than materialists to:

- support environmental protection measures,
- be opposed to nuclear energy and stronger military defence efforts,
- have a high opinion of the environmental movement,
- support actively the ecological, anti-nuclear energy and peace movements, and
- vote for a green party.

However, support for Inglehart's proposition is not universal. While some critics reject Inglehart's proposition outright, most acknowledge it as part of the answer. The link made between postmaterialism, new social movements and environmentalism is especially controversial from a developing society perspective. Reasons for the emergence of the environmental/green movement will be discussed in the next section, which focuses on arguments for and against Inglehart's value change theory.

3.4.1 Postmaterialism and the emergence of the environmental/green movement

Eckersley (1989:210-219) and Swyngedouw (1994) discuss theories for the development of the new class as offered in the literature. Eckersley firstly discusses the class-interest theory and secondly the new childhood response theory of which Inglehart's materialism-postmaterialism thesis is an example. Swyngedouw discusses three theories, namely the postindustrial theory, the relative deprivation theory that is similar to the class-interest theory and lastly the resource mobilisation theory. The postindustrial theory is similar to Inglehart's postmodernism theory. While Eckersley's childhood response argument stresses Inglehart's socialisation hypothesis, the postindustrial theory stresses the change in social and economic environment that led to a shift in values.

According to the class-interest argument, the new middle class is furthering its class interests. As they are employed on the periphery of the business and manufacturing sector, it is to their advantage to criticise industrialism. According to the proponents of this

explanation, the economic dominance of the manufacturing sector marginalises the new middle class and places them on the periphery of decision-making institutions in industrial societies. Swyngedouw calls it the relative deprivation theory. According to this theory the new middle class feels materially and ideologically deprived. He continues that the new middle class is culturally rich because of their high education levels. This cultural wealth is however not accompanied by material wealth. Ideological deprivation refers to this class's lack of access to power. Eckersley is highly critical of this argument as many of the new middle class occupations cannot be described as being peripheral. The strong welfare approach of the politics of the new middle class also undermines the accusation that they only have their own interests in mind (Eckersley, 1989:210-213; Swyngedouw, 1994:457).

The resource mobilisation theory is an example of the "new issue" theory for the establishment of new parties. According to this theory, new groups with new needs and issues establish new parties to gain access to institutional resources to have their demands met. The established parties cannot be used for this purpose as they do not include the new issues in their policies. The newly established parties may disappear if the traditional parties successfully include the new issues in their programme (Swyngedouw, 1994:457-458).

The new childhood response refers to Inglehart's postmaterialism thesis that ascribes the shift in values in industrial societies partly to childhood socialisation and experiences. According to Eckersley there is a large body of research supporting Inglehart's thesis. However, it does not explain why some people become postmaterialists and other with the same childhood experiences do not. Inglehart also underestimates the role of real environmental problems in his discussion of the rise of the environmental movement (Eckersley, 1989:215-219).

The postindustrial theory sketches the social and economic changes that led to development of a postindustrial society. Key indicators of postindustrial societies are new occupational structures resulting from the replacement of the secondary sector (manufacturing) with the tertiary sector (services) as the main economic sector, higher educational levels, higher living standards and secularisation. This theory is the same as Inglehart's postmodern society with the same effect on the political system (Swyngedouw, 1994:457).

Eckersley (1989:209-210) also recognises the influence of educational level and occupation as significant in the development and growth of the environmental/green movement. According to Eckersley, the environmentalists/greens can be linked with the growth of a new class which embodies an adversary or counter-culture. This new class is usually employed in the tertiary sector, i.e. information and personal services. Through their occupations, members of this new class have better access to information and are on average more adept at manipulating ideas and symbols than the rest of society. Their education in critical thinking and their access to information equip them better than most other classes to deal with the moral and religious uncertainty that characterises postmodern societies. This new class is therefore more likely to present an ideological critique of the status quo.

Like Inglehart, Burke (1989), Papadakis (1984) and Stouthuysen (1983) link the growth of environmentalism to the economic well-being of Europeans in the post-war period and the development of a postindustrial society (similar to Inglehart's postmodern society).

However, Stouthuysen makes use of an adapted version of Inglehart's thesis. Like Inglehart he describes the postindustrial or postmodern society as one where the tertiary or information and services sector is the dominant economic sector. Other characteristics include what Inglehart describes as the results of the modernisation process, namely urbanisation, democratisation of education, the ownership of television and cars and the disappearance of community life. Stouthuysen differs from Inglehart in that he links the growth of the movement to the economic crisis caused by the oil crisis between 1973 and 1974. According to Stouthuysen, the modernisation process broke up traditional support structures. This lack of support structures together with the economic crisis of the 1970s led to insecurity. The freedom of the modern society led to feelings of insecurity and anxiety in times of crisis. The recreation of traditional support structures was unacceptable to the youth who value their freedom. The establishment of the environmental movement can therefore be seen as the result of a need for new support structures against the background of a broader youth movement that started in the 1960s and campaigned for more democratic freedoms and less hierarchical and bureaucratic structures (Stouthuysen, 1983:349, 250).

Fitzmaurice (1991:142) agrees that the existence of a postmaterialist value change in advanced industrial societies is generally accepted. He also agrees that there seems to be a link between postmaterialism and the growth of environmentalism. However, in his view, survey results have shown that the environmentalists/greens do not have the support of all postmaterialists. He also emphasises the internal diversity of the environmental/green movement, which led the movement and green parties to be supported by people of a wide range of political backgrounds.

It seems to be generally accepted that Inglehart's postmaterialist and the related postmodern thesis do provide an explanation for development of the new social movements. However, it does not necessarily follow from these theories that the environmental/green movement should have developed. Knowledge and experience of real and potential environmental problems and disasters also made an important contribution towards the growth of the movement. Papadakis (1984:3) and Burke (1989:43) correctly state that the preoccupation with environmental issues arises firstly from a genuine concern about the direct physical threat confronting certain communities and secondly a growing awareness resulting from media coverage around studies on "limits of growth" and sustainability. This point of view is borne out by Hay & Haward (1988:163) and Spretnak & Capra (1990:163) who found that the development of well established green parties and movements is more likely in societies which experience conspicuous environmental degradation and problems.

All the above authors wrote in a developed world context. The strongest criticism against Inglehart comes from those researchers who include the experience of the developing world in their research.

Brechin & Kempton (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) question this positive correlation between postmaterialism and environmentalism, because it fails to explain wide support for environmental protection and the extent of environmental activism in developing countries. Brechin & Kempton (1994:247) acknowledge that there is a positive correlation between postmaterialism and environmentalism in advanced industrial societies (developed countries), but argues that postmaterialism cannot be used as an explanatory thesis for the growth of environmentalism which is a global phenomenon. Dunlap & Mertig (1997:25), on the other hand, argue that there is a weak relationship between postmaterialism and

environmentalism. They argue firstly that national wealth as measured by GNP is a stronger indicator of the level of environmentalism and secondly that both national wealth and postmaterialism correlate negatively with some measures of pro-environment attitudes.

Abramson (1997:21-23) responds to Brechin & Kempton by denying that Inglehart or anybody else has ever claimed that environmentalism is caused solely by postmaterialist values. Inglehart (1997:242) acknowledges that his postmaterialist thesis does not explain environmentalism in developing countries and that environmentalism in these societies should possibly rather be seen as survival (i.e. materialist) values. Dunlap & Mertig (1997:27-28) call this response by Inglehart "an easy cop-out of the problem".

Lee & Kidd (1997:36-38) defend Inglehart's value change thesis. They acknowledge that environmentalism is a global phenomenon, but argue that the 1990-1993 World Value Survey data shows a positive relationship between postmaterialism and environmental protection exists in all nine advanced industrial societies and in seven of the eight low- to middle-income level societies included in the analysis. They also found that postmaterialists tend to be more concerned about the environment than materialists, regardless of their society's economic development. Lee & Kidd found that the difference in environmental concern between postmaterialists and materialists is smaller in the low- to middle-income societies than in advanced industrial societies.

In general, however, explanations offered for the growth of environmentalism in developing countries do not refer to postmaterialism or postmodernism, or make any reference to underlying values and attitudes that may contribute to the growth of the movement. Brechin & Kempton (1997) and Gardner (1995) identify a number of factors contributing to the growth of environmentalism in developing countries, as found in the literature.

Some scholars suggest that grassroots environmental organisations (GEOs) in developing countries are created by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to promote their own agendas. It is generally accepted that many GEOs are supported and often driven by NGOs from developed societies that seek to obtain legitimacy for their projects by incorporating local support. This is however not the full story. This approach does not take the genuine concerns of the citizens of developing countries into consideration and

presents these people as mere puppets of environmental/green activists from developed societies. As in the case of developed societies, the direct experience of environmental problems is an important factor in the growth of the movement. The same goes for the direct experience of poverty by the citizens of developing countries as many GEOs mobilise around social and poverty issues (Brechin & Kempton, 1997:262-263; Gardner, 1995:204).

A second way in which environmentalism in developing societies is described, is as a mere reaction to dominant trends in developed societies. This is found in the argument that many developing society governments regard environmental concern as a sign of progressive policy which should be emulated by others (Brechin & Kempton, 1997:264).

Modernisation and exposure to views of the developed societies may have played a role in the growth of environmentalism. Another factor in the growth of the movement is the extensive dissemination of scientific knowledge through the media. Environmentalism is also becoming part of mainstream economic thought in developed societies and a healthy environment is now seen as essential for a sound economic base. Environmentalism is therefore growing because of the availability of information as well as more support by governments and corporate bodies who regard it as sound policy (Brechin & Kempton, 1997:265).

These factors may all have contributed towards the growth of environmentalism in developing countries. However, Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis is an attempt to predict what kind of person is likely to support environmentalism and to provide a theoretical basis for predicting future trends. These factors as discussed by Brechin & Kempton and Gardner are inadequate in this respect. This study takes up the issue by attempting to establish whether environmental concern can also be linked to materialist and prematerialist values in a developing society such as South Africa (see Chapter 5).

It has been shown that there is a link between the emergence of the environmental/green movement and the shift towards postmaterialism – at least in developed societies. The situation is more complex in developing societies. Furthermore, even in developed societies, postmaterialism does not account entirely for the growth of environmentalism/greens. It has also been shown in a previous section that the

environmental/green movement is a diverse movement that incorporates a wide range of issues and, according to Lee & Kidd (1997:40), it is not known whether materialists and postmaterialists think of environmental concern from similar perspectives.

The relationship between the environmental/green movement, new social movements and the concepts of prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism will be explored further in the following section by referring to social base, values and principles.

3.4.2 Social base of the environmental/green movement

The European greens are considered to overlap significantly with members of the other new social movements and counterculture movements. These movements include the women's, peace, ecological, Third World, gay and lesbian rights and anti-nuclear movements and in Germany, the Citizen Initiatives (Hülsberg, 1988:114-115; Markham, 1983:70; Mewes, 1985:15; Rüdig, 1988:29).

The following demographic profile is based on the results of a number of surveys conducted predominantly in Germany, but also in Great Britain, Belgium and Europe in general. According to these surveys, the membership of the green movement is young, well educated, urban and from the new middle-class. All the surveys found that the youth is over-represented amongst the greens. In 1983, for example, 78% of the voters of *Die Grünen* were younger than 35 years. By 1984 *Die Grünen* was the political party with the second most support in the age group 18 to 35 in the German local and state elections. The Christian Democrats drew the most support in this age group. By 1991, 80% to 85% of *Die Grünen's* voters were still under 45 (Eckersley, 1989:206; Hofmann-Martinot, 1991:74; Hülsberg, 1988:114; Müller-Rommel, 1985:57; Stouthuysen, 1983:367; Swyngedouw, 1995:458).

All the surveys also found that the average green supporter has attained a higher educational level than the average citizen. Morrison & Dunlap (as discussed by Eckersley, 1989:206) found that the core greens, i.e. the leaders and active members of formal environmental/green groups, usually have at least some college education. Most of the environmentalist's/greens' support comes from the urban areas, but they have also drawn support from rural areas that are threatened by big technological projects. The typical green

supporter is employed in the tertiary sector, i.e. information and professional services sector, or is not included in the formal employment sector. The latter group consists of the unemployed, housewives and especially students. In Germany a large proportion of the environmental/green supporters are students. Noticeably absent from the environmental/green movement are members of the labour movement, the business class and those who provide technical and administrative services and support to the business class. The environmental/green movement's supporters also have a slightly higher income than the average citizen. The environmentalists/greens can therefore not be regarded as part of the traditional middle class, but rather as being from a subset of the middle class or as being members of the new middle class (see Chapter 2) (Eckersley, 1989:206-207; Hofmann-Martinot, 1991:74; Hülsberg, 1988:115-117; Mewes, 1985:16-17; Müller-Rommel, 1985:57; Papadakis, 1984:2; Rüdig, 1988:29; Stouthuysen, 1983:367; Swyngedouw, 1994:458).

Although the above is based on surveys in developed societies, Hochstetler (1997:192) and Viola (1988:216-217) describe the supporters of the environmental/green movement of Brazil in similar terms. According to them the environmentalists/greens are mainly from the educated middle class, especially professionals, teachers and scientists. A large section of the movement's support also come from students and the youth in general.

The social base of the environmental/green movement is very similar to that of the new social movements and postmaterialists as discussed in Section 3.2.3.

3.4.3 Values and principles

The environmental/green movement is a very diverse movement, incorporating a number of dominant environmental discourses or ecophilosophies ranging from the more conservative preservationism and resource conservationism to radical discourses such as deep ecology and political ecology.

Literature on the environmental/green movement often focuses on European style green parties as representative of the entire movement. These parties are often considered as the party political home of the New Left and new social movements. However, Dalton (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995:320-321) has found that although various elements in the

environmental/green movement do consider the green and New Left parties as natural allies, there are also elements in the movement that either disapprove of these parties' unconventional style and extremist views or prefer not to be associated with any type of political party. He did find, however, that the green and New Left parties can claim to be the only parties representing at least a sector of the environmental/green movement.

It was also noted earlier in this chapter that the types of issues addressed by the environmental/green movement in developing societies are different or additional to those addressed by the movement in developed societies. Survival and economic goals are still dominant in developing societies. These goals correspond with both prematerialist and materialist values. On the other hand, quality of life issues are becoming more salient in advanced industrial societies.

In this section the issues, values and principles taken up by the environmental/green movement will be discussed with the aim to establish whether they correspond to prematerialist, materialist or postmaterialist goals. The European style green parties will be discussed first, followed by environmentalism in developing societies.

3.4.3.1 Values and principles of European style green parties

Green parties have introduced new issues into the political debate. They place much less emphasis on economic growth and the industrial economic sector than the traditional parties. Instead, the greens, influenced by the other new social movements, have introduced issues such as various environmental problems, peace and disarmament, opposition to nuclear power, the developed world's relationship with the developing world (e.g. writing off of debt), women's issues, alternative technology, social justice and minority rights. (Alario, 1994:331; Carter in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:39; Cohen & Arato, 1984:327; Ferris in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:149; Laferrière, 1994:95)

Vollgraaff (1994) identifies the basic principles of the ecology movement as:

- reverence for life,
- interdependency and sustainability,
- anti-modernity,
- social justice and non-violence,

- revalorization of tradition, and
- participatory democracy and autonomy

Reverence for life

Reverence for life means that all life, including that of non-human species, is valued. The deep ecologists hold the extreme position that all species and some natural elements such as soil, water, air and fire have intrinsic rights regardless of their economic, aesthetic or recreational value for humans. Furthermore, all species are equal. Therefore the killing of an insect or plant is as morally wrong as the killing of a human being (Beinart & Coates, 1995:108; diZerega, 1995:239-240; diZerega, 1996:699-701). However, as Wissenburg (in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:5-6) points out, a biocentric worldview is impossible as it will always be based on a man-made interpretation of nature. Therefore, most biocentrists tend to adhere to a less extreme form of biocentrism.

The extreme biocentrists make up a minority group in the ecology movement. Most of the groups making up the environmental/green movement tend to be more anthropocentric than biocentric as they concern themselves mainly with human problems. However, all ecologists do recognise that non-human life has value in itself and that human's decisions should take into consideration the impact on the whole ecosystem, not only on humans (Spretnak, 1984:472; Territory Greens, 1999, http).

Interdependency and sustainability

The principle of interdependency and sustainability depends on the recognition that all life on earth forms part of one interrelated system, the ecosystem or so-called web of life. This implies that a threat to one species or sub-unit of the ecosystem will have implications for the other sub-units individually and to the ecosystem as a whole. James Lovelock with his Gaia-hypothesis (named after the Earth goddess Gaia) is a major influence on the environmental/green movement in this regard (Cooper, 1990:105; Harman, 1985:319; Kemp & Wall, 1990:21; Spretnak, 1980:472; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:29-30).

There are two approaches to the principle of interdependency and sustainability. The more mystical approach describes the ecosystem of web of life as a single living being of which humans are only a sub-unit. This being is called Gaia. A Gaia-religion that regards the

earth as a goddess developed around this point of view[1] (Harman, 1985:319; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:250).

The second approach is the management approach fostered by the Club of Rome "limits to growth" reports in the 1970s. According to this approach, sustainability can be defined as development that does not exceed the earth's ability to recover. This includes the frugal use of natural resources and taking the long-term effects of human behaviour into consideration when planning (Barnaby, 1988:89; Cooper, 1990:104-105; Harman, 1985:320; Kemp & Wall, 1990:187-188).

The concept of sustainable development is a result of the general acceptance of this principle, even outside the ecology movement. Escobar (1996:328-331) considers the concept of sustainable development to be undermining to the ecologist principle of sustainability as it is an attempt to reconcile traditionally opposing processes, namely economic growth and the preservation of the environment. He argues that it is an attempt to side-step the broader implications of sustainability and interdependency, and that sustainable development programmes are often detrimental and hostile towards indigenous people and peasants. The more radical groups within the environmental/green movement emphasise a change of lifestyle that forms the basis for the rest of their principles and values.

Anti-modernity

The environmental/green movement is often described as being anti-science and anti-technology, anti-industrialism, and by implication anti-progress, anti-development and anti-state. It is true that the environmental/green movement criticises modern science and technology and rejects industrialism and the emphasis on economic growth. Once again, one can discern shades of green.

Modern science, or reductionist science as it is often referred to in green literature, is criticised because it often entails the study of the parts of an organism, object or process while the relationships between the different parts or sub-units are ignored. The claim that

[1] James Lovelock researched the preconditions of life and biodiversity. His Gaia-hypothesis was never intended to be used as the basis of a mystical view of Earth and he himself did not support such an interpretation of his work.

science is value-free and neutral is also rejected. This criticism does not only refer to the scientists' claim of objectivity during the research process, but also to the accusation by the environmentalists/greens that the purpose of modern science is to control and to exploit. According to the environmentalists/greens, the scientist, by claiming neutrality and objectivity, reduces the organism, people or geological feature under study to an object with no value besides that of a study object. Ecofeminism injected a gender dimension into the debate by referring to modern science as an essentially masculine system inseparable from the logic of environmental destruction (Albertyn, 1990:5; Beinart & Coates, 1995:6; Hattingh, 1993:3-6).

Modern technology is also heavily criticised, but not rejected, by all. Although some of the more radical environmental/green groups (those tending to the extreme biocentric pole) reject all technology, others find some forms of technology acceptable. The environmentalists/greens coined the term appropriate technology that can be defined as technology that is environment-friendly, does not use large quantities of fuel or produce non-recyclable or toxic waste and still allows people to be creative (Icke, 1990:34; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:88). The technology debate amongst the environmentalists/greens does not only focus on the type of technology used and its impact on nature. Within the environmental/green movement, there is a movement away from studying the nature of technology towards looking at who controls it. The environmentalists/greens are very wary of large corporations or industries, so-called "big business" (Watson & Sharpe in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:210).

The environmental/green movement rejects industrialism, i.e. the ideology based on economic growth and technocratisation, which according to them is the guiding force in Western civilisation. They reject large centralised corporations with large bureaucracies, hierarchical management structures and assembly line production processes. Not only are these corporations blamed for causing most of the pollution in the world, but also for destroying people's dignity and creativity. The Australian Greens (Territory Greens, 1999, http) include a paragraph on "meaningful work" in their charter which entails the encouragement and development of "work that is safe, fairly paid, socially useful, personally fulfilling and not harmful to the environment". Alienation is an important theme in green literature. The concept of alienation as used by the environmentalists/greens should be seen within the context of both industrialism and another key characteristic of

advanced industrial societies, namely urbanisation. The environmentalists/greens fear the anonymity or lack of communal ties in the modern city. Large corporations contribute to this feeling of alienation by reducing the worker to a cog in a larger machine with little control over working conditions and even less input into what is produced and how it is produced. They reject industrialism as it has manifested in capitalist as well as social-democratic societies (Beinart & Coates, 1995:94; Hülsberg, 1988:109; Mewes, 1985:17; Papadakis, 1984:23, 25-27).

The environmental/green movement rejects authority and centralised structures and instead propagates small-scale industries using appropriate technology. They want to recreate communal ties by creating alternative communities where self-determination, decentralisation, individual initiative and innovation will be valued socially and in the workplaces. The USA Greens (Association of State Green Parties, 1999, http) formulates this principle as follows under the heading "Community-based Economics": "Greens seek a new economics based upon the natural limits of the Earth which meets the basic needs of everyone on the planet, under democratic, localised community control". These values and creativity should become more important than material wealth. Decision-making should be democratised and there should be more social control over technological innovation (Cohen & Arato, 1984:328-329; Hülsberg, 1988:109; Papadakis, 1984:53).

Wolfe (1983:160) regards opposition to unbridled economic growth as the main feature of green thought. The greens' main criticism of the industrialised societies' emphasis on economic growth is firstly that it is not sustainable in the long term and secondly that it is based on a faulty view of welfare. They reject the notion that material welfare is a good indicator of general welfare. For the same reason, they reject the GNP as a reliable indicator of welfare as it does not take into consideration qualitative issues such as mental and physical health, social cohesion, workmanship and durability. They also argue that the negative impact of economic activities on the environment e.g. pollution (the so-called externalities of economic activities) can contribute to higher economic growth by leading to the creation of work and services, even though it is to the detriment of society as a whole (Harman, 1985:321; Icke, 1990:24-29, 38-40; Johns, 1993:45; Kemp & Wall, 1990:55, 72-73; Mewes, 1985:17; Sweet, 1983:32).

Social justice and non-violence

The environmentalists/greens do not reject modernity in general, but only what they consider to be its negative aspects such as "big industry" and an emphasis on rationalism. They do approve of some characteristics of the modern world such as greater equality and social mobilisation. The issue of human rights (and animal rights, on the fringes of the movement) which is one of the main features of the modern world, is a main feature of green thought.

The environmentalists/greens reject all forms of discrimination. They take up issues such as ending the exploitation and oppression of women, children, ethnic minorities and animals (e.g. factory farming and vivisection). They are outspoken with regard to the international economic system that is, in their view, based on the exploitation of the developing world by the developed world (Harman, 1985:320; Kemp & Wall, 1990:19-20; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:40-42; Thomas, 1995:516).

Feminism had a big influence on green political thought, especially in *Die Grünen* which incorporated policies to combat patriarchy in its 1983 election manifesto. Feminism is often manifested in ecofeminist views which are not all shared within the larger feminist movement. Ecofeminists claim that women are superior to men by virtue of being able to give birth. For this reason women are held to be closer to natural processes, i.e. the natural world and the earth. Ecofeminists emphasise values such as nurturing, care and co-operation which they regard as feminine and reject values such as competitiveness, control and exploitation which they see as masculine. Their influence can also be seen in the participatory and less hierarchical organisational structures of many environmental/green movements (Carter in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:39; Evans in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:177, 179; Harman, 1985:320; Icke, 1990:199-201; Kemp & Wall, 1990:26-27; Parkin, 1989:299; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:164; Association of State Green Parties, 1999, http).

The emphasis placed by the environmentalists/greens on social justice and non-violence is also evident in their foreign policy and principles regarding international relations (Cooper, 1990:183-184; Icke, 1990:65, 70, 83-86; Kemp & Wall, 1990:107, 113-115; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:60, 96; Association of State Green Parties, 1999, http). A good formulation in

this regard is in the *Charter of the Australian Greens* (Territory Greens, 1999, http), namely:

"to promote equity between nations and peoples by:

- facilitating fair trading relationships;
- providing increased development assistance and concerted international action to abolish Third World debt;
- providing increased green technology transfer and skills to developing countries;
- opposing human rights abuses and political oppression;
- ensuring that Australia plays an active role in promoting peace and ecological sustainability".

The foreign policy of the environmentalists/greens emphasises pacifism and the rejection of the nation-state. The feminists in the environmental/green movement have been especially active in the peace movement and they have stimulated a considerable rebirth of interest in pacifism. During the 1980s, the arms race between the then superpowers, the USA and the USSR, attracted much attention in the policy documents of the European green parties, which supported unilateral disarmament and vehemently opposed nuclear arms. Nuclear arms, and for that matter nuclear energy, is rejected not only for its potential destructiveness, but also because it necessitates secretive structures and control by a few. Many greens reject any form of military defence and propose a social defence system based on civil disobedience and obstruction instead (Carter in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:39; Mewes, 1985:33; Papadakis, 1984:133, 137; Thomas, 1995:516; Territory Greens, 1999, http).

Some green parties reject the nation-state as the basic political entity. According to *Die Grünen*, the nation-state is egoistic, chauvinistic and competitive. Europe should therefore rather be divided into smaller autonomous units. The British *Greens* also consider the nation-state with its accompanying feelings of patriotism, territorialism and nationalism as the root of international conflict. Both parties propose more international co-operation and the development of supra-national institutions together with smaller political units based on bioregions and communities built on self-association (Kemp & Wall, 1990:141-143, 178-179; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:46, 57, 59). The election programme of the Dutch greens, *Groenlinks*, for the European election in June 1999, focuses on proposals to make the European Parliament more accountable to the voting public and to lessen the control of

the national governments. According to *Groenlinks*, the present European system results in a trade-off between sovereign states, not in legislation and decisions which benefit Europe as a whole (Groenlinks, 1999, http).

Revalorization of tradition

The environmentalists/greens advocate the creation of a society which includes the re-introduction of traditional values in an adapted format.

In their search for an alternative society that is environmentally friendly and recreates community life, the environmentalists/greens tend to idealise precolonial societies such as the Native Americans, rain-forest tribes and the San of southern Africa. These people are seen as living in complete harmony with nature in that their activities – economic and social – did not have any long-term negative effects on the environment. This disregards evidence that these societies were entirely capable of using and adapting their natural environment for their own purposes, as well as research indicating that stone age people were responsible for the extinction of some species as far back as 10 000 years ago.[2] One of the results of this renewed interest in these precolonial societies is an acceptance that traditional knowledge and technology can be useful in a modern age and is sometimes superior to that provided by modern science. Especially, traditional health practices attract a great deal of attention from both the general public and Western scientists. The environmentalists/greens in countries such as Canada, the USA, New Zealand and Australia also emphasise the protection of indigenous peoples' lifestyles (Beinart & Coates, 1995:3-5; Dobson in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:194).

The environmentalists/greens emphasise human spirituality even though the established churches are often rejected. Spirituality usually takes the form of modified traditional, eastern and New Age religions, e.g. self-actualisation groups and Gaia religions. There are

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[2] See chapters by Rolls, MacKenzie and Lowenthal in Griffiths & Robin (eds) (1997) for examples of the use of change to their natural environment by the indigenous people since the stone age people period until colonisation and westernisation.

See the following sources for the debate on colonial and contemporary perceptions of the southern African San: Barnard, A. 1989. The lost world of Laurens van der Post? *Current Anthropology*, vol. 30(1), pp. 104-114; Guenther, M.G. 1980. From "brutal savages" to "harmless people": notes on a changing western image of the Bushmen, *Paideuma*, vol. 26, pp. 123-140; Maughan-Brown, D. 1983. The Noble Savage in Anglo-Saxon colonial ideology, 1950-1980: "Masai" "and Bushmen" in popular fiction, *English in Africa*, vol. 10(2), pp. 55-77; Voss, A.E. 1987, The image of the Bushman in South African English writing of the 19th and 20th centuries, *English in Africa*, vol.14(1), pp. 21-40.

however Christian environmental/green groups such as Ecolink in England and one third of the members of Belgian green party, *Agalev*, claim to be active members of the Roman Catholic Church (Billiet & Swyngedouw, 1995:251; Joffe, 1983:20; Harman, 1985:320; Kemp & Wall, 1990:188-189; Mewes, 1985:36; Spretnak & Capra, 1990:230-256).

Participatory democracy and autonomy

Lastly, the environmentalists/greens emphasise the values of democracy and autonomy. The environmental/green movement developed partly out of the anti-authoritarian and counterculture movements of the 1960s and 1970s. They were also influenced by Murray Bookchin's concept of anarchy and he in turn was influenced by 19th century anarchism. This is especially the case of social ecologists and deep ecologists. It has also already been mentioned that the greens reject the hierarchical and bureaucratic organisational structures that characterise industrialised societies.

The environmentalists/greens share the mistrust of parliamentary practices and mainstream politics felt by sections of the extra-parliamentary movements. They reject traditional party structures that usually consist of hierarchical bureaucracies dominated by professional politicians. They criticise traditional parties on the grounds that they are controlled by interest groups and give the average citizen little chance to influence decisions (Harman, 1985:320; Kemp & Wall, 1990:20-21; Spretnak, 1984:472; Thomas, 1995:511).

The environmentalists/greens do not offer a unified green alternative to the conventional political system, including the political party system. However, the alternatives provided by the different green parties do have some characteristics in common. Most of the European green parties propose a variant of direct democracy. Their political structures are designed to hamper the development of professional politicians and the formation of small powerful interest groups within the parties. Policy is made at grassroots level, preferably by consensus. Sections of the environmental/green movement reject all party political processes and do not approve of the establishment of green parties (Cohen & Arato, 1984:330; Papadakis, 1984:170; Saward in Dobson & Lucardie, 1993:71-72; Stouthuysen, 1983:361-362).

3.4.3.2 Values and issues in developing societies

The environmental/green movement in the developing countries receives much less attention in academic literature than the environmental/green movement in the developed world. Where the environmental/green movement in the developed countries is analysed in terms of history, philosophical roots, principles, goals and organisational structures, the literature on the movement in the developing countries tends to focus on concrete environmental problems and possible solutions. Environmentalism in the developing countries tends to be described as local reactions to specific problems rather than as a movement with some sense of coherence and shared goals. However, this started to change since the mid-1990s.

It is a widely held misconception that there is a low level of environmental concern in developing countries. However, there is persuasive evidence of environmental concern amongst the population in developing societies. The environmental/green movement consists predominantly of a wide range of GEOs, i.e. coalitions of local people who come together to combat some form of environmental change. GEOs usually have a very low level of organisation. They are often funded by local or international NGOs and sometimes develop into NGOs themselves. Membership and support for these groups are not restricted to the middle classes, although environmental activists or environmental elites tend to come from urban areas. Schneider estimated in 1988 that there are about 1 million members of grassroots movements in developing countries. However, according to Ainger, it is estimated that the members of the Indian environmental/green movement alone number in the millions. A survey conducted by Harris and Associates for the United Nations Environment Programme in 1989 and one conducted by the George H. Gallup International Institute in 1992 both found a higher level of environmental concern in developing countries than in developed countries (Ainger, 1999:19; Brechin & Kempton, 1994:246, 248-252; Dunlap & Mertig, 1997:25; Gardner, 1995:201, 205, 211-212; Kidd & Lee, 1997:40).

It was stated in section 3.3.2 that the environmental/green movement in developing countries tends to mobilise around survival needs. Many people in developing societies participate in environmental campaigns because their direct livelihood is threatened (Gardner, 1995:202-203). They therefore participate in such campaigns motivated by the

need to survive and not primarily to protect the environment. The salient environmental issues have been identified as:

- problems regarding resource depletion such as soil erosion, deforestation, desertification, overfishing, overgrazing;
- access to resources, e.g. the use of common land, land reform measures;
- health problems e.g. pollution and inadequate sanitation systems; and
- poverty issues (Bryant, 1992:12-14; Calman, 1989:954-955; Chowdhry, 1989:142; Lewellen, 1995:197-207; Martinez-Alier & Thrupp, 1992:150; Morell & Poznanski in Leonard 1985:142-144).

Access to resources, pollution and other health issues (such as unhygienic places of food production for the poor and urban water and air pollution) enjoy high priority in developing societies. It is also argued that this type of environmental problems affects the poor the most (Carruthers, 1996:1007; Gardner, 1995:207; Hochstetler, 1997:209-210; Lewellen, 1995:204-207; Morell & Poznanski, 1985:143; Viola, 1988:211-212, 214).

However, the above classification of issues is only part of the truth. The environmental/green movement in developing societies also addresses many of the same issues usually identified with European style green parties. For example, the Brazilian environmental/green movement has gradually become more politicised since 1986 when the democratisation of Brazilian politics emerged as a priority. It campaigns against centralisation of the political system and promotes the transformation of the political system to provide access to power for the poor and marginalised. The movement gave input into the new constitution of Brazil and formed a green party, the *Partido Verde*, for this purpose. However, the party cannot claim to represent the whole environmental/green movement of Brazil (Hochstetler, 1997:205-207, 213; Viola, 1988:221-222).

The salient issues of the environmental/green movement in developing societies will be explored further in this section. Environmental activism was almost completely absent in the developing world until the 1970s. Where it did occur, environmentalism was limited to the elites who were mainly concerned with aesthetic concerns and species extinction. The early environmental/green movement in the developing countries therefore shares the characteristics of the resource conservationists and preservationists of the environmental/green movement in the developed world. As was the case with

environmentalism in the developed countries, the movement became politicised during the 1970s. These roots are still evident in the well-established interest groups in the developing world, e.g. Costa Rica, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico and Venezuela which focus mainly on the preservation of wildlife and the ecosystem (Gardner, 1995:206).

The emergence of environmental/green politics in the developing countries is both of local environmental problems and the conscientising and mobilisation of local groups by international environmental interest groups. Some argue that the environmental/green movement in the developing countries is supported and often driven by the environmental/green movement of the developed countries. Others maintain that the growth and development of the environmental/green movement in the developing countries is the result of the input and mobilisation of the developed countries, but most environmental/green groups have been free from such influences in the 1990s. However, the environmental/green movement in developing countries still relies heavily on the financial resources, advice and influence of organised religion and NGOs from developed societies. This does not mean that the local input should be underestimated. The environmental/green movement developed around real environmental problems. It is also a social and political movement that can be understood in terms of the struggle between classes or between cultural values. GEOs usually consist of poor or indigenous people who try to preserve their traditional means of sustenance from resource depletion or big technological projects. Some social movements include environmental issues among their concerns with the purpose of obtaining financial and organisational assistance from the developed countries (Gardner, 1995:204, 222; Martinez-Alier & Thrupp, 1992:150; Morell & Poznanski, 1985:140; Sethi, 1987:571).

Resource depletion includes a wide range of environmental problems threatening the quality of agricultural land and other sources of subsistence. Issues often mentioned in the literature are deforestation, soil erosion, water and air pollution, desertification, overfishing, overgrazing, pollution of fishing grounds by upstream industrial facilities and lastly, the continual use of common lands against the threat of privatisation and individualisation. Brazil for example suffers from high levels of soil erosion due to deforestation, water pollution caused by industrial waste and urban air pollution. Environmental problems in Mexico include desertification, species extinction as well as the depletion of aquifers, fisheries and soil resources (Carruthers, 1996:1007; Chowdhry,

1989:143; Gardner, 1995:206; Lemos, 1998:80; Morell & Posnanski, 1985:147-153; Viola, 1988:211, 214)

Just distribution of natural resources is also an important environmental issue in developing societies such as India, Latin America and the Philippines. The *Chipko* movement of India, for example, was established in Uttarkland of Uttar Pradesh, India to protect the Reni forest. The main motivation for establishing *Chipko* was not to protect the trees, but to protect people's access to and use of the forests. *Chipko* was founded after the Indian government approved the cutting of 2 500 trees in the Reni forest. The name *Chipko* (which means to hug) refers to the tactic used by the participants. They formed a physical barrier around the trees by holding on to the trees. Women were originally excluded from the movement. However, when the lumber company arrived, most of the men were not in the village and the women of the local villages took it upon themselves to protect the trees. Due to *Chipko*'s campaign, a ten year ban on the felling of trees in the Reni forest was granted. It also had the unintended result that women's issues in that society were redefined to include public matters (Calman, 1989:954-955).

Access to land is a major concern in countries such as the Philippines, Zimbabwe, Brazil and Mexico. In all four of these societies, transnational corporations displace peasants and indigenous peoples by introducing industrialised agricultural practices to produce food for the export market. The peasants and indigenous peoples cannot afford the high input costs of industrialised agricultural practices and are either forced onto marginal land where they contribute to further environmental degradation, or join the already overpopulated urban slums where the large number of unemployed drive urban wages to even lower levels. The industrialised agricultural practises are based on monocultures and the use of high levels of pesticides, herbicides and fertilisers. Often pristine forests are cleared to obtain more land. This deforestation causes desertification as the soil of tropical forests tends to be very poor and cannot sustain agricultural practices for more than a few years. The use of other modern technology such as large dams, including hydro-electrical schemes, and mining also often means the uprooting of local people and/or the diversion of rural resources for urban and commercial practices (Carruthers, 1996:1011-1013; Hochstetler, 1997:212; Gardner, 1995:207-209; Mittelman, 1998:853-854; Sethi, 1987:571).

There is not always agreement on how to deal with the above issue. Brazil has two environmental/green movements that are not well integrated. The broader environmental/green movement consists of a myriad of local and regional groups. The second includes the rubber tappers and the indigenous movement and is based in the Amazon basin. The latter has better international links and succeeded in making the preservation of the forest an international issue, while the former does not want to emphasise the Amazon as a separate issue. The broader environmental/green movement emphasises the commonality of the causes of environmental degradation throughout Brazil, e.g. unequal patterns of arable land distribution and the displacement of peasants by large-scale commercial agricultural producers who have made pesticide and herbicide pollution a major concern for southern environmentalists (Hochstetler, 1997:212).

The conflict surrounding the just distribution of land is not only about environmental degradation and poverty. It is also about cultural heritage. The rubber tappers' movement was in the first place a defence of the rubber tappers rights to remain on the land they worked when they were under threat of expulsion to the city to make way for cattle ranches. Staying on the land and the continuing use of traditional subsistence methods are also about cultural survival. Many rural people in poor countries live close to nature and when their resource base and livelihoods are destroyed, so are their cultures. Various indigenous peoples can, theoretically, move to cities and adopt modern lifestyles. However, they resist modernisation and fight for the preservation of their habitats and traditional modes of life despite enormous economic and political pressure. This indicates a conscious decision to preserve traditional lifestyles (Gardner, 1995:207-209; Hochstetler, 1997:211-212).

However, the strong alliance between the environmental/green movement and the indigenous movement is not only about preserving lifestyles of the past. The conventional development model, based on rapid economic growth and promising a trickle-down effect of wealth, has also came under severe criticism from the environmental/green movement. The environmental/green movement of Mexico argues that rapid industrialisation caused immense environmental degradation and that it did not benefit the poor as wealth did not trickle down. They promote instead the concept of bottom-up development based on the revitalisation of communities, the empowerment and participation of disenfranchised

groups, and the principles of sustainability and reverence for life (Carruthers, 1996:1009-1010; Mittelman, 1998:854).

The traditional lifestyle of the indigenous people of Mexico is seen as a rich potential source of knowledge to inform such a development model. The environmental/green movement of Mexico has very strong ties with the indigenous movement. Mexico has a particularly rich ethnic heritage of distinctive cultures, languages and traditions. At least 56 major language groups still survive. The local and regional peasant struggles of the 1970s and 1980s formed the foundation for the mobilisation of indigenous social groups. Mexico with its ethnic diversity and a peasant population of over 25 million is regarded as a rich source of traditional ecological knowledge that can form the basis of sustainable conservation and agricultural model. The Mexicans have access to both Westernised science and indigenous knowledge. The environmental/green movement hopes that a sustainable model of development will emerge from the combining of the two knowledge systems. The movement cuts across social class and is issue-oriented rather than class-oriented, because indigenous ecology brings together urban professionals and indigenous peoples and peasants (Carruthers, 1996:1015-1017).

The environmental/green movement in developing societies has developed a critique of development itself. Modern technology is not always seen as appropriate technology. Modern technological projects are not only criticised for their negative impact on indigenous and poor people, but also for being expensive and less effective than indigenous technology. According to Chowdhry (1989:144), large projects have the aura of success, power and modernisation, but do not necessarily serve the needs of the people. Dams built in India, for example, silted up and the price of irrigation was much higher than estimated. The local people therefore lost control over their water supply without gaining the promised cheap water. Sethi (1987:570), who also writes about India, criticises the governments of developing countries for importing Western technology and promoting industrialisation to create the impression of progressiveness without taking the needs of the population into consideration. Ainger (1999:19) reports that there is widespread resistance to modernisation in Indian agriculture because Indian peasants believe it will make them dependent on large corporations for pesticides and fertilisers. The peasants also protest against the patenting of traditional Indian seeds by foreign corporations that will prohibit local farmers access to the seeds that they have traditionally used.

The challenge of finding an alternative rural lifestyle based on the indigenous and peasant experience was taken up by a section of Brazilian youth in the 1970s. Students, influenced by the North American counterculture movement, established alternative communities in rural areas. This counterculture movement was incorporated into the environmental/green movement in the 1980s and their experience with creating an alternative economy proved valuable in creating alternative economies in the cities. These rural communities could, for example, supply organic farming products to the cities (Viola, 1988:220).

3.4.3.3 Discussion

Inglehart, as discussed in Chapter 2, identifies three broad trends in postmodernist thought, namely (i) a rejection of modernity, (ii) a revalorization of tradition, and (iii) the introduction of new values and lifestyles. He also identifies postmaterialist goals as the protection of the freedom of speech, the establishment of a less impersonal and more humane society, the establishment of a more participatory democracy, more participation in decision-making by people in their workplaces and communities, and the establishment of a society where ideas count more than money.

These three trends in postmodernist thought and all these postmaterialist goals are present in the values and principles of the greens. The values, principles and organisational structure of European style green parties correspond to the political changes brought about by postmaterialism and postmodernism, namely the introduction of new issues, new political cleavages, a decline in patriotism and loyalty to national institutions, emphasis on participatory democracy and decentralisation, and lastly, elite-challenging political action.

Green thought has a strong anti-modernity emphasis as it is anti-industrialism, anti-science, sceptical of technology, critical of unrestrained economic growth and rejects hierarchical, bureaucratic structures. Instead, it emphasises political and economic decentralisation, creativity and spirituality. Green thought also contains elements of a revalorization of tradition. It values the culture, knowledge and religion of indigenous peoples and it proposes the recreation of community life. However, the traditional role of women is rejected and many greens choose to live out their spirituality outside the established Western Christian churches. Lastly the environmentalists/greens also emphasise new

lifestyles more in harmony with the environment and encourage the acceptance of cultural and sexual diversity.

The environmentalists/greens, together with the new social movements, introduced new issues such as the relationship between human and non-human species, long-term sustainability, alternative lifestyles, appropriate technology, social and global justice, non-violence and new concepts of statehood. They also identified a wide range of environmental issues which are seen as the symptoms of a sick society and not as the primary problems.

The environmentalists/greens reject both the capitalist and the social democrat versions of industrialism. European style green parties are generally described as New Left or Left-libertarian parties, meaning that the traditional left-right divide is not applicable to them. Other surveys describe environmental/green supporters as being of the new middle class or a subset of the middle class. This corresponds to Inglehart's theory of new cleavages as the result of the growth of postmodern political culture.

Lastly, the environmentalists/greens introduced new forms of political organisation emphasising decentralised structures and participatory democracy. These include a high level of involvement by grassroots supporters. The environmentalist/green decision-making structures encourage what Inglehart termed, elite-challenging political behaviour.

There seem to be many characteristics shared by postmaterialism and environmentalism. However, it has been suggested that the thesis of a positive relationship between a value shift to postmaterialism and the growth of environmentalism/greens does not apply in developing societies. Material and survival issues still dominate in these societies. Inglehart acknowledges that his postmaterialist thesis does not explain environmentalism/greens in the developing world. He refers to this movement as mobilising around survival issues, i.e. materialist issues, but does not develop the argument further. The environmental/green movement can still be considered a new social movement in developing societies. The movement has introduced new issues, is value-driven, challenges the dominant cultural discourse and seeks viable alternatives, cuts across class interests and uses non-institutionalised tactics.

The issues emphasised by the environmental/green movement in developed societies are also taken up by the movement in developing societies. However, in many cases, these issues are taken up in a different socio-political context, for example contributing to the establishment of an emerging democracy rather than changing an established democracy. The environmental/green movement in developing societies often addresses survival issues rather than quality of life issues. Therefore, the link between the shift towards postmaterialism and the growth of environmentalism is not as strong in developing societies as in developed societies. Rather, many of the issues taken up in developing societies correspond more closely to prematerialist or survival issues than to postmaterialist issues.

Democratisation and the transformation of the political system of Brazil are priorities for the local environmental/green movement. Like its counterparts in developed societies, the Brazilian environmental/green movement emphasises participatory democracy and decentralisation. However, the movement in developing societies challenges the bureaucratic, centralised and elite-driven nature of the system. The Brazilian movement, on the other hand, functions in a society that emerged from a military authoritarian political system in the 1970s. It does not only challenge the type of democracy, but also the lack of access of large sections of the population to positions of power. The broadening of the political system itself is one of the challenges and not only the manner in which participation takes place.

Values such as revalorization of tradition and anti-modernity are also present in the goals and values of the environmental/green movement in developing societies. However, in developing societies it is not a case of prioritising quality of life or postmaterialist values, but survival. The indigenous movement and peasants are motivated by a renewed pride in their cultural heritage, but their struggles against modernisation (e.g. industrialised farms, dams), to maintain access to forests and other natural resources, are primarily about survival. Indigenous peoples and peasants are dependent on access to forests and other natural resources for food, fuel and shelter. They are displaced and marginalised by large technological projects such as the building of dams, and commercial farming. Resource depletion is not only about environmental degradation *per se*, but has a very direct influence on people's ability to survive.

The environmental/green movement in developing societies has been influenced by its counterparts in the developed world. Sections of the population in countries such as Brazil and Mexico can be described as being part of the developed world rather than of the developing world. The environmental/green groups in developing societies also have strong links with their counterparts in the rest of the world. However, prematerial and material goals dealing with poverty issues, access to natural resources, resource depletion and health issues are still the dominant issues in these developing societies.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the environmental/green movement was discussed for the purpose of exploring the links between the movement, new social movements and postmaterialism. The debate on whether the environmental/green movement is a new social movement and related to the growth of postmaterialism is important when discussing the future of the environmental/green movement in a developing society such as South Africa. If there is a positive relationship between a shift towards postmaterialism and the emergence of environmentalism, the environmental/green movement has little chance of establishing itself in a developing society.

Authors such as Knight (in Foweraker & Craig, 1990) and Salman (as reviewed by Haber, 1996) have questioned the relevance of new social movement theory to developing societies. In addition, Brechin & Kempton (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) have questioned the relationship between the environmental/green movement and the shift towards postmaterialism, because the low levels of postmaterialism in developing societies do not explain the growth of environmentalism in those societies.

The environmental/green movement has been described as one diverse movement entailing different environmental discourses or ecophilosophies. These discourses/philosophies are:

- Preservationism: A romantic view of nature that emphasises the superiority of a pastoral rural life and connects individual creativity, happiness and fulfilment with the proximity to unspoiled nature.

- Resource conservationism: This refers to the efficient management and development of nature to ensure the sustainable use of natural resources on the one hand and the "improvement" of nature on the other.
- Human welfare ecology: This discourse emphasises the dependence of human survival on the survival of the present ecosystem. Participants focus on human impact on the natural environment on a global scale, e.g. pollution, destruction of biodiversity and human ability to destroy the world with nuclear energy and weapons.
- Political ecology: This discourse defines environmental problems in terms of socio-political relations e.g. the distribution of political power and material resources. It includes social ecology, environmental justice and people of colour environmentalism.
- Deep ecology: The two key aspects of deep ecology are the interconnectedness of all life and secondly the intrinsic value or worth of all natural things. Protection of non-human species is therefore justified in terms of the inherent worth of these species and not in terms of human survival and aesthetic needs.
- Ecofeminism: The exploitation and domination of the earth by humans is related to the exploitation and domination of women by men. Ecofeminists believe that the so-called feminine qualities such as nurturing, care and co-operation should be emphasised and so-called male qualities such as competition, control, exploitation and aggression be rejected.
- Bioregionalism: Bioregionalists seek to establish small and diverse social communities according to geographical and natural boundaries. These communities function as small political entities with decentralised social and political structures.
- Animal liberationists: This discourse defines animals as having intrinsic rights and moral worth independent of their utility for humans. This discourse is not as extreme as deep ecology and usually manifests in the form of various "humane" societies.
- Ecosocialists: This discourse defines the environmental/green movement in terms of Marxist theory. The environmental/green movement is seen as a social movement of the poor and marginalised who struggle to obtain access and control of resources such as agricultural land and water. Environmental problems are described in terms of the exploitation of the poor and of natural resources by the rich.
- Indigenous ecology: This discourse refers to the alliance between the environmental/green and indigenous movements for the purpose of preserving and promoting traditional ecological knowledge. This alliance reflects the view that indigenous knowledge and practices can provide a model for a sustainable lifestyle.

The environmental/green movement is often identified as a new social movement. A social movement has been defined as a collection of actors - individuals, groups and organisations - who collectively try to bring about social change. Social movements can be distinguished from mainstream social institutions by their outsider status, including their willingness to use non-institutionalised forms of tactics.

New social movements challenge the dominant cultural discourse in societies. They are issue-oriented and value-driven. New social movements tend to address quality of life issues and the production of symbolic goods. They are usually linked with the growth of postmaterialism, but some of these movements, especially those typical of developing societies such as the anti-eviction movement and indigenous movement, also focus on survival issues. New social movements tend to be dominated by the new middle class, but address issues that cut across class interests. New social movements in developing societies differ in this respect from their counterparts in developed societies as their participants include peasants and indigenous peoples. New social movements are not driven by ideological utopias, but search for viable alternatives for everyday life. Because new social movements are about cultural change, participation in a new social movement becomes as important as reaching the end goal. They reject centralised hierarchical organisational principles and use non-institutionalised forms of tactics.

European style green parties draw support from a significant proportion in participants of the new social movements. Kriesi (in Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995) has found that the green parties are seen as natural allies of new social movements and that they play an important role in the mobilisation of these movements. The environmental/green movement shares the same social base as postmaterialists and new social movements, namely the so-called new middle class. The environmentalists/greens tend to be young, urbanised, well educated, materially well-off and working in the tertiary economic sector. In addition, those employed in the formal sector, such as students, unemployed and housewives are more likely to support a green party than other demographic groups. Supporters and participants in the environmental/green movement also include people who have directly experienced the threat of environmental degradation to their immediate environment. Participants in developing societies include people on the periphery of

society whose livelihood is threatened by resource depletion and modern projects such as commercial farming and dam-building.

New social movements and postmaterialists emphasise quality of life issues, i.e. cultural and symbolic struggles rather than economic struggles. They also emphasise grassroots democracy and elite-challenging forms of political participation. These issues are reflected in the values and principles of European style green parties and the environmental/green movement in general. The main principles of the environmental/green movement have been identified as:

- reverence for life
- interdependency and sustainability
- anti-modernity
- social justice and non-violence
- revalorization of tradition, and
- participatory democracy and autonomy.

However, the environmental/green movement also addresses survival issues, especially in developing societies, namely:

- problems regarding resource depletion
- access to resources
- health problems, and
- poverty issues.

Although the environmental/green movement in developing societies such as Brazil also emphasises grassroots democracy and elite-challenging forms of participation, its first priority is to obtain an inclusive political system.

There are various similarities between new social movements and the environmental/green movement and both can be linked to the concept of postmaterialism. The environmental/green movement can be considered a new social movement if one uses the broader definition, namely that they are issue-oriented and value-driven, rather than issue-oriented and driven by postmaterialist values. It is also clear that the shift towards postmaterialism cannot explain the emergence and growth of the environmental/green movement as a whole, especially in developing societies. Prematerialist values, or survival

values also seem to play a significant role in the emergence of the environmental/green movement.

The possibility that prematerialist values may also be linked to environmentalism has important implications for a society such as South Africa. The environmental/green movement in South Africa has been described as a white middle class concern. If the proposition that environmentalism/greens is linked to the growth of postmaterialism is accepted, there is very little scope for the movement to grow in a society with a low level of postmaterialism and is instead becoming more materialist. However, if prematerialist values can also be used to mobilise people around environmental/green issues, the movement does have strong growth potential in South Africa, as the society experiences high levels of prematerialism. This argument is discussed in the next two chapters. A historical overview of the environmental/green movement in South Africa, its values and principles will be discussed in Chapter 4. The relationship between the South African environmental/green movement and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values will be discussed in Chapter 5 by using survey data.

Chapter 4

The South African environmental/green movement

4.1 Introduction

South Africa has a long history of environmentalism dating back to the beginning of the colonial period. Public involvement in nature conservation in the form of resource management and preservationism dates to the mid-19th century. The more radical environmental discourses such as human welfare ecology and political ecology have only taken root since the late 1980s.

South African environmental policy reflects the race and class divisions of the country. Nature conservation has been a predominantly white middle class concern using a scientific management approach. The early environmental/green movement was influenced by the sport hunting community whose views and strategies were often at odds with black cultural perceptions and uses of nature. Many black South Africans therefore experienced nature conservation efforts as alienating and disempowering. Only in the late 1980s did the environmental/green movement begin to take local communities' needs and concerns into consideration in planning. Interest groups with policies and programmes similar to those of European style green parties only arrived on the scene in the late 1980s. These groups aligned themselves with the anti-apartheid struggle by linking environmental degradation to unequal distribution of power and material resources.

A historical overview of the development of the environmental/green movement in South Africa will be given in this chapter with the aim to provide background information to the expected demographic and socio-economic composition of the South African movement. The issues emphasised and the dominant environmental discourses in the country will also be discussed within the framework of the issues and discourses in the international movement and the relationship between these issues and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist goals.

4.2 Historical overview

The membership and interests of the South African environmental/green movement reflect the race and class divisions of the country. In the past, environmental/green interest groups were compelled by law to organise according to race groups. After the abolition of the apartheid regulations, these divisions continued informally. Most of the influential interest groups still have a predominantly white middle class membership. The official policies of the past and the disinterest of the environmental/green movement in local communities' needs, contributed to the perception that the environment is a white person's issue, and often provoked hostility. This situation has only started to change since the late 1980s (Cock in Cock & Koch, 1991:2-4; Cooper in Hallowes, 1993:30; Kahn, 1990:61, 96-97).

In this section a historical overview of the environmental/green movement in South Africa will be given to give background information to the development of the movement and dominant environmental discourses in the country.

4.2.1 Early environmentalism: resource conservationism and preservationism

The earliest conservation regulations in South Africa reflect a resource conservationist and preservationist approach. They also reflect the views and needs of natural scientists and the social elite of the time. Official regulations to protect the local fauna and flora in South Africa date back to the early colonial period. The Dutch East India Company promulgated five *placaaten* within the first five years after their arrival to protect gardens, lands and trees. Ludwig Pappe who served as the official Cape botanist between 1858 and 1862, was the first person at the Cape to take a systematic approach towards nature conservation. He raised alarm over the poor condition of the Cape forests. His successor, John Croumbie Brown (1862-1866), promoted programmes involving soil, water, forest and species conservation (Beinart & Coates, 1995:44; Kahn, 1990:21; Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:13)

The main concern during the 18th and most of the 19th centuries was to gain government control over hunting. The white sport hunters became involved in conservation during the later part of the 19th century. Game numbers were severely reduced by the exploits of

white sport hunters during this period. The hunters realised that hunting had to be controlled and game conserved in order to safeguard the future of their sport. New links were thus forged between conservationists and hunters, resulting in the passing of game laws and regulations in the late 19th century. These regulations were intended to conserve game, but also to restrict access to game, for example to black hunters. These regulations were based on the British imperial view that to subsist on game (like the blacks) or to sell it (like the Afrikaner farmers) was less civilised than to kill for amusement. There were also political motives. Carruthers (in Griffiths & Robin, 1997:127) quotes from a letter from the Transvaal Game Protection Association to the Colonial Secretary, dated 18 November 1903: "the destruction of game by the natives... enables a large number of natives to live by means who would otherwise have to maintain themselves by labour". These regulations therefore also served the purpose of pressurising blacks into the labour market (Beinart & Coates, 1995:75; Carruthers in Griffiths & Robin, 1997:127; Kahn, 1990:22-23; Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:24).

Paul Kruger proclaimed the first game reserve in South Africa in the Pongola area in 1894. In 1897 four game reserves were established in Zululand of which three still exist, namely Umfolozi, Hluhluwe and St. Lucia. The Sabie Game Reserve was established in 1898 which led to the formation of the Kruger National Park in 1926. Most of South Africa's national parks were proclaimed by the 1930s (Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:11-12).

Related to this development was the establishment of the first conservation societies towards the end of the 19th century. The Natal Game Protection Association was established in 1883 and the Transvaal Game Protection Association in 1902. The latter was the forerunner of the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa. The Botanical Society was established in 1913, the same year as the National Botanical Gardens at Kirstenbosch and the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa in 1926 (Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:15-16).

In these early game reserves the emphasis was on the preservation of game. Predators were hunted and there was little understanding of ecology and the protection of habitats. It was more a case of saving certain relic animals in strictly defined areas than restoring wildlife

populations. There was also much opposition to the establishment of parks from farmers, land speculators and mining companies who were against the restriction on land use. Game reserves and parks were not yet open to the public (Beinart & Coates, 1995:31, 75).
During this period, conservation policy can be described as anti-human. The animals and plants were isolated from humans. The only legitimate human roles in these parks were those of ranger, scientist and later tourist. In particular, indigenous people's access and rights to the land were ignored. The establishment of some of these parks entailed the removal of whole African villages to often waterless sites without compensation (Beinart & Coates, 1995:83-84).

By the 1920s the game reserves seemed to receive more public support. The reserves and parks were opened to the public and the development of the tourism potential became a major theme. The myth of white South Africans as nature lovers was deliberately cultivated by the government for the sake of international respectability. The Kruger Park was visited by 180 cars in 1928. By the late 1930s it had 30 000 visitors annually. The science of ecology was also making headway and the parks were managed in ways that acknowledged the interdependency and interaction between species (Beinart & Coates, 1995:76-78, 82; Mittelman, 1998:850).

The establishment of game reserves also reflects white-black power relations as black needs and viewpoints were seldom taken into account. The land chosen for game reserves was generally uninhabited but traditionally used by blacks as hunting grounds. When blacks continued to use this land for hunting purposes after the establishment of the reserves, they were regarded as poachers. In those cases where blacks lived within the borders of the proposed reserve, they were often evicted when the reserve was established. For example, 3000 black residents were evicted when the Sabi Park was established in 1902. The policy of evicting residents was later reversed and the remaining residents within the nature reserves became liable for labour or rents in cash. Continuous efforts were also made to prevent blacks from enjoying national parks, even as tourists. Since the 1990s, negotiations with local communities have been regarded as essential and usually include compensation for the loss of resources and continuing sustainable use of resources within the protected area (Beinart & Coates, 1995:84; Carruthers in Griffiths & Robin, 1997:127; Cock in Cock & Koch, 1991:2; Kahn, 1990:23; Mittelman, 1998:850).

4.2.2 Black alienation from the environmental/green movement

Blacks are often described as less environmentally concerned than other race groups. The alienation of blacks from the environmental/green movement and perceived black environmental apathy is an important theme in recent environmental literature in South Africa.

Some South African researchers, such as Kahn (1990:56), regard environmental deprivation as an important cause of the perceived lack of black involvement in environmental issues. Environmental deprivation is defined as a lack of access to a beautiful and healthy environment. It is argued that blacks tend to value their environment less than whites, because they are more likely to live in ugly and unhealthy neighbourhoods. This has however not been tested by survey research in South Africa, but Mohai & Bryant (1998:478-482) conducted such a survey in the USA and found support for this argument. More generally, black alienation from environmental concerns in South Africa, is usually attributed to various consequences of the apartheid policy.

Many supporters of the environmental/green movement regard colonialism and apartheid as the main causes of environmental degradation. The Native Land Act of 1913 and Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, for example, limited black ownership of land to designated areas and involved the removal of blacks from land which fell outside these areas. According to these environmentalists/greens, the homeland policy resulted in overpopulated homelands with accompanying degradation of resources due to overgrazing and overuse of agricultural land. The ugliness and monotony of black townships are also seen as contributing to feelings of apathy by blacks towards their immediate environment. Many blacks relate issues regarding land ownership to environmental concerns. Their experiences of dispossession and forced removals therefore had a negative influence on their view of the environmental movement and its concerns (Cooper in Cock & Koch, 1991:176-179; Cock in Cock & Koch, 1991:12; Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie, 1996:25; Kahn, 1990:3, 56; Klugman in Cock & Koch, 1991:73-77; Koch & Hartford, 1989:10; Mittelman, 1998:859; SANGOCO, 1998b:8).

The environmental/green movement used to be a mainly white middle class movement. In 1990, Kahn (1990:2-4) reported low levels of conservation awareness among the blacks. In fact, she found that few blacks were even aware of the existence of environmental/green non-governmental organisations (NGOs) at that stage. Furthermore, many blacks had a negative and even hostile attitude toward environment issues and the environmental/green movement. The environmentalists/greens were perceived as promoting the values and aspirations of the privileged.

Efforts to stimulate black environmental awareness in the past have usually taken place within the framework of apartheid policies and a scientific management approach. These attempts include the establishment of the African National Soil Conservation Association in 1953, a blacks only initiative of the Veld Trust. The Natal branch of the Wildlife Society of South Africa also established a separate society for blacks in 1963 and in 1967 the Manyeleti Game Reserve was established for the use of blacks only. The only significant conservation group established by blacks was the Native Farmers Association (NFA) established in 1917 by D.D.T. Jabavu and Rev. J.E. East in the Eastern Cape. The NFA focused on resource degradation such as soil erosion and was influenced by the agricultural training techniques of Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, in the USA (Kahn, 1990:4-5; Mittelman, 1998:850; Rabie & Fuggle in Fuggle & Rabie 1996:24).

Official conservation efforts often had negative effects on the black population of South Africa. The official policies were based on a scientific management approach that seldom took socio-economic and political factors into consideration. Conservation measures included fencing, stock culling and the forced removal of entire communities. These conservation programmes were met with hostility from the local population who had no access to the decision-making processes. This negative response to conservation efforts was sometimes seen by conservation officials as confirmation that blacks are environmentally destructive (Kahn, 1989:3-4; SANGOCO, 1998b:9-10).

4.2.3 Recent developments

Since 1980s major environmental/green interest groups such as the SA Nature Foundation (now the South African branch of the World Wide Fund) and the Wildlife and

Environment Society, have tried to become more inclusive. They have supplemented the resource conservation and preservation approach with a concern for the needs of local communities. The human welfare ecologism approach has also become more dominant within the established environmental/green interest groups. The main thrust of the work of these interest groups has changed from recreation, aesthetic values and scientific management to human development programmes and incorporating local communities in decision-making processes (Cock in Cock & Koch, 1991:1-2; Hanks, 1993:22-23; Kahn, 1990:112-113).

According to Andy Gubb (personal communication, 10 April 1999), the Regional Manager of the Wildlife and Environment Society (Western Cape Region), most of his society's projects focus on environmental problems in impoverished areas. This change in emphasis also brought about a change in the social base of the supporters of his society. Although the members are still predominantly from the white middle class, the people who attend meetings and participate in projects come from more diverse backgrounds.

The more radical environmental/green interest groups only started to organise in the late 1980s (Lincoln 1991:5; Müller 1997:114). At the Conference for a Democratic Future in 1989 at the University of the Witwatersrand, environmental issues were for the first time linked with the anti-apartheid struggle. Participants at the conference decided actively to seek the support of the then freedom movements. Environmental degradation was linked with social injustice. The representatives of Earthlife Africa agreed that environmental concerns should take second place and that poverty issues should become the primary concerns of South Africa. They stressed issues such as wealth creation, clean water, housing, employment, adequate health services and education (Cock in Cock & Koch, 1991:1-2, 14-15; Müller, 1997:115)

At the Conference on the Environment and Politics held in 1991, it was agreed that: "A peaceful and just society can only be sustained if its ecological basis is sound, and if this means working with the people of the country striving for a democratic government and justice in access to land and common wealth" (*Financial Mail*, 1991:5; *Kagenna*, 1991:4). This was followed by the Earthlife Africa International Conference in 1992 in Pietermaritzburg. Representatives came from 17 countries, including Ghana, Nigeria,

Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Swaziland. Three documents were accepted at the Earthlife Africa Conference, namely the Non-governmental Agricultural Treaty, the Alternative Treaty on Trade and Sustainable Development and the Conference Resolutions. In these documents Western technology and industrialisation are rejected as ineffective in providing food and as concentrating land in the hands of a few. It was decided to promote agricultural methods that promote bio-diversity, traditional knowledge and a system of peasant farmers. Secondly, the current international financial and trade structures were also rejected as leading to exploitation of the developing world by the developed world. The Conference also supported the writing off of Third World debt and rejected the patenting of biological sources and living beings. Lastly, the Conference decided to establish a national co-ordinating body for environmental/green interest groups and initiatives (Hallowes, 1993:3, 312-323).

In 1994, the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF) was established as a co-ordinating body. It currently has 550 members whose joint campaigns and activities it co-ordinates. EJNF facilitates the exchange of information between members as well as access to funding, decision-makers, policy processes and the media. The members consist of community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, church groupings, women's groupings and any other non-governmental, non-profit sector of civil society with an interest in promoting environmental justice and sustainable development in South Africa (EJNF information pamphlet, 1999; Mittelman, 1998:864-865).

EJNF identifies its main goals as follows:

- to promote a culture of environmental justice and sustainable development throughout South African society.
- to educate the public regarding the inter-related nature of social, environmental and economic systems in limiting or enabling the achievement of a sustainable, equitable and just society.
- to promote networking nationally as well as internationally on behalf of South African interest groups and initiatives.
- to strengthen and promote solidarity between environmental/green interest groups and initiatives by enabling them to share information and co-ordinate lobbying efforts to decision-making structures (EJNF information pamphlet, 1999).

South Africa has already produced three green parties, all without much electoral success or support of the environmental/green movement in the country. The Ecology Party was founded in November 1989 by Colin Slater. Slater resigned soon after. When contacted in 1994, the leaders of the party, Don Pilkington and Alex Zaloumis, were very reluctant to give any information about the party's activities and policies (Pilkington, personal communication, 6 September 1994; Slater, 1990:82-83; Steenkamp, 1989:14; Van der Merwe, 1990:4).

The Green Party was founded in 1991 in Cape Town. It took part in the Western Cape provincial election in 1994 without much success, obtaining only 2611 (0,1%) of the votes. The main thrust of its campaign was the legalisation of dagga and fewer restrictions on the use of tobacco and alcohol. All efforts to make contact with the party since the 1994 election have been unsuccessful (*Die Burger*, 7 May 1994:10; Green Party election pamphlets, 1994; Vollgraaff, 1994:98-100; *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 31 March – 7 April 1994:4).

The Government by the People Green Party (GPGP) was founded in 1999 by Judy Sole. The principles of reverence for life and interdependency and sustainability are emphasised. Sole believes that one has an obligation to protect all human beings, including future generations. That implies the principle of sustainability. The interdependency of human beings, animals, plants and natural elements such as the air, water and earth is recognised. Sole also advocates the abolition of representative government as it does not represent anybody. She does not provide a clear alternative. The election manifesto also refers to humane treatment of animals. The ability of modern economies to produce large quantities of waste is also targeted for criticism. It seems as if human welfare ecologism and animal liberationalism are the dominant discourse in the GPGP. The GPGP took part in the 1999 general elections with poor results. It obtained 9193 (0,06%) votes in the national election and in the provincial election 2848 (0,18%) votes in the Western Cape, the only province where it put up candidates (Yeld, 1999:12; Independent Election Commission, SA, 1999, http). The three South African green parties were not the result of the activities of a social movement, but founded by individuals. None of the parties can claim to represent a significant part of the environmental/green movement.

During the 1990s, the more radical groups within the South African environmental/green movement tried to broaden the traditional white middle class social base by aligning themselves with religious and labour movements (Lincoln, 1991:6; Müller, 1997:116). Although the global environmental/green movement has not been very successful in attracting support from the traditional working class, the South African environmental/green movement has established alliances with the trade unions. This has been hampered by past experiences (see Section 4.2.2) and the high unemployment rate in the country. Developers often use a "job versus environment" argument to promote industrial development in ecologically sensitive areas or in industrial development that entails the use of environmentally destructive technology. Co-operation between the labour and environmental/green movements usually centres on issues regarding industrial health. Probably the best example is the campaign against Thor Chemicals, in which trade unions have worked together with Earthlife Africa, Greenpeace and a number of community groups. Thor Chemicals in the Natal Midlands is the world's largest recycling plant for mercury waste. Environmental problems were caused by the leaking of mercury into streams and groundwater in the vicinity of the plant and a number of the workers became ill with mercury poisoning (Butler in Bethlehem & Goldblat, 1997:206; Cock in Cock & Koch, 1991:9-10; Erwin & Crompton in Cock & Koch, 1991:81-82; Magane *et al* in Bethlehem & Goldblat, 1997:178-180).

Although some of these joint campaigns were highly successful, they also illustrate an important weakness, namely the inability to translate gains into long-term programmes of action. However, the labour federation Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) did become involved in criticising and formulating environmental policy. They took part in the Consultative National Environmental Policy Process (CONNEPP) which became a major mechanism for environmental education and the formulation of environmental policy, including the National Environmental Management Act of 1998. COSATU also held a health, safety and environment policy conference in 1995, followed by a national environmental policy workshop in 1996. A number of resolutions regarding industries, responsibility towards the environment including pollution control and waste management were accepted at the 1995 conference (Magane *et al* in Bethlehem & Goldblat, 1997:180, 182-183). Earthlife Africa (1999, http) includes a section on mining in

their policy document. This is a new addition to their 1993 Congress Papers which still forms the major part of their policy document. According to the policy document, Earthlife Africa will "build a working relationship with labour unions to share ideas on mine safety, especially in the area of environmental health". They will also campaign for increased safety in mining.

According to Koch (in Cock & Koch, 1991:21), the *Weekly Mail*, the newspaper for which he worked, could find only one community-based organisation whose focus include environmental issues in 1989, namely the Mafefe Committee in the Northern Province. This Committee campaigned against the asbestos dumps near Mafefe which were the source of serious health problems. However, things had changed by the end of 1990. A number of community-based or grassroots movements were established which included environmental issues in their policies and activities. Not all of these movements/groups were or are part of the environmental/green movement *per se*. The following list gives an indication of the wide-ranging communities involved and the wide-ranging issues around which they have mobilised.

- The Zamdela Environment Group organises around health problems caused by industrial pollution.
- Isididi in northern KwaZulu-Natal organises the local community who were forcibly removed with the establishment of a national park and thereby denied access to traditional food sources.
- Earthlife Africa and the West Rand Environmental Awareness Committee organised against plans to start toxic waste disposal sites near Azaadville near Krugersdorp.
- The inhabitants of Rooi Els organised against the activities of Somchem, a subsidiary of Armscor which had a test site for rocket propellants in the area.
- The Natal Fresh Produce Growers' Association took on a consortium of multi-national chemical companies about the excessive use of herbicides in the Thala Valley near Pietermaritzburg.
- The Alexandra Civic Organisation has been involved in tree-planting, recycling and clean-up programmes (Coetzee & Cooper in Cock & Koch, 1991:132-133; Koch in Cock & Koch, 1991:21-26; Lawson in Cock & Koch, 1991:47).

4.2.4 Summary

South Africa has a long history of environmental concern. In the 19th century, the movement was dominated by government officials and the white elite. Although the first game reserves were established at the end of the 19th century, they only became fashionable during the 1920s and 1930s. While the myth of the white middle class as nature lovers was deliberately been promoted by the authorities, the black population experienced conservation as disempowering and many were displaced by game reserves and the government's betterment schemes. The result has been apathy and hostility among blacks towards environmentalism.

The environmental/green movement changed during the late 1980s. The established environmental/green groups started to introduce human welfare and poverty issues into their programmes, thereby attracting new audiences to their projects. The more radical environmental discourses also took root in South Africa at that time, especially political ecology. The notion of environmental justice, defined in Chapter 3 as a sub-group of political ecology, has had a major impact on the South African environmental/green movement since 1989. The more radical environmental/green groups broadened their social base by forming alliances with community groups and trade unions. These new alliances focused on poverty and health issues. Although they have been successful in raising environmental consciousness, the question still remains as to whether the participants in these alliances will prioritise environmental concerns.

4.3 Social base

In 1989, Reynolds (1989:228, 365) conducted a study on white urbanites' attitudes towards the environment in the Roodepoort area. The respondents were confined to white Afrikaans- and English-speakers from the higher and lower middle-class. She found that although most people have positive attitudes toward the environment, few people feel strongly positive or negative about the environment.

Almost a decade later, a Perception and Assessment of Global Environmental Change Project (PAGEC) survey was conducted in 1997 in Gauteng by the Human Sciences

Research Council. The sample size of 801 includes approximately 100 urban and 100 non-urban respondents of each of the following language groups: English, Zulu, Southern Sotho and Afrikaans. The questionnaire deals with issues such as the meaning of the concept environment, perceived environmental change, perceived environmental problems, where and how people obtain information about the environment, level of environmental concern, environmental policy making, environmental and development issues and environmental values (Fiedeldey *et al,* 1998:i-viii).

The correlates of environmental attitudes that have shown the most consistency are age, education and residential location. Younger people tend to be more environmentally concerned than older people. This trend is usually attributed to a higher level of environmental literacy among younger age groups and different life experiences of age groups. However, two previous South African studies discussed by Fiedeldey *et al*, namely Grieve & Van Staden (1985) and Reynolds (1992), found the opposite trend in South Africa. The PAGEC study found no correlation between age and the level of environmental concern (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:30-33, 95).

One of the most consistent findings in literature on correlates of environmental attitudes is level of education. Most studies in the USA on environmental attitudes report that respondents who have obtained a high level of academic achievement tend to be more environmentally concerned than those of low academic achievement. This trend was confirmed by the South African studies conducted by Grieve & Van Staden (1985), Reynolds (1992) and Craffert & Willers (1994). The PAGEC survey found that 41% of the respondents with matriculation or less education are not at all or little concerned about environmental matters. In contrast 31% of the respondents with post-matric qualifications expressed some or a great deal of concern about environmental matters in general. The PAGEC study also found that respondents with post-matric qualifications are more likely to believe that they can contribute to solving environmental problems. Furthermore, the more highly educated the respondents, the more they reported having actively contributed to bringing about positive environmental change. As in the case of Europe and North America, people in professional jobs tend to have more positive attitudes towards the environment than blue collar workers (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:33-34, 94-95, 107; Reynolds, 1989:373).

USA studies found that inhabitants of larger cities have more positive attitudes towards the environment than those living in smaller cities. South African studies showed mixed results in this regard. Grieve & Van Staden (1985), Craffert & Willers (1994) and the PAGEC study found no significant difference in environmental concern between groups from different residential areas. However, Willers (1996) did find a significant correlation between place of residence and level of environmental concern (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:35-37, 94-95).

With reference to gender, Willers (1996) reported that females tend to be more environmentally concerned than males. Grieve & Van Staden (1985) found that English-speaking women showed the greatest degree of environmental concern followed by English-speaking men, then Afrikaans-speaking men and Afrikaans-speaking women. Reynolds (1992) and Craffert & Willers (1994) found no correlation between gender and environmental attitudes in South Africa (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:38-39).

Willers (1996) found that ethnic grouping is the single most significant predictor of environmental concern in South Africa. This was partially confirmed by the PAGEC survey which found that more Afrikaans (35%) and English-speaking (42%) respondents indicated that they are very concerned about environmental issues than did Zulu- (24%) and Southern Sotho-speakers (24%). The PAGEC study also found that most Zulu- and Southern Sotho-speaking respondents believe that they can do nothing to bring about positive environmental change. Afrikaans- and English-speakers, on the other hand, are more likely to feel that they can do something to solve environmental problems (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:41, 94, 107; Reynolds, 1989:373).

4.4 Values and issues

It seems that little systematic research has been done about the dominant values and principles within the South African environmental/green movement. In 1990 the South African National Environmental Conservation Survey (SANECS) was conducted. According to the survey results, most respondents named general pollution, air pollution, water pollution, litter, forest destruction and species extinction as the issues that directly

affect society. The poor were most concerned about air pollution and litter in their immediate vicinity while both black and white respondents were most concerned about air pollution, litter, population growth and soil erosion. The respondents perceived nuclear weapons and chemical waste imported into South Africa to be the greatest environmental threats to the country by 2020. The survey sample consisted of Asians, blacks, coloureds and whites (N = 2287) (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:47).

The 1993 SANECS survey found that white children were more likely to be aware of local and global problems e.g. litter, water and air pollution, overpopulation and the depletion of the ozone layer, while black children were more likely to be aware of issues that affected their daily lives for example litter, noise, overpopulation. Whites, Asians and coloured adults considered global and local problems such as ozone depletion, overpopulation, water pollution, litter, specie extinction, deforestation and industrial waste as being serious threats. In contrast, black adults were more aware of problems that affected their daily lives e.g. violence, soil erosion, land pollution and drought (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:46-47).

These findings correlate with the situation in other developing societies. In Chapter 3, for instance, it was noted that the salient issues addressed by the environmental/green movement in developing societies are:

- problems regarding resource depletion such as soil erosion, deforestation, desertification, overfishing and overgrazing;
- access to resources such as the use of common land and land reform measures;
- health problems such as pollution and inefficient sanitation; and
- poverty issues.

Issues to do with resource depletion, health and poverty are also emphasised in the well-known South African green publications edited by Cock & Koch (1991) and Hallowes (1993). The issues include:

- air, sea and water pollution (Coetzee & Cooper in Cock & Koch, 1991:131-133; Clarke in Cock & Koch, 1991:139-157; Gandar & Cock & Koch, 1991:97-99 Manuel & Glazewski in Cock & Koch, 1991:193-207);
- toxic waste (Fig in Cock & Koch, 1991:124-128; Lukey *et al* in Cock & Koch, 1991:160-171);

- sustainable land use, soil erosion and soil degradation (Auerbach in Hallowes, 1993:130-136; Cooper in Cock & Koch, 1991:177-192; Cooper in Hallowes, 1993:118-121; Dawkins in Hallowes, 1993: 103-117; Khor in Hallowes, 1993:16-28; Kumbane in Hallowes, 1993:122-124; Mayende in Hallowes, 1993:125-129);
- resource depletion caused by gill netting (Manuel & Glazewski in Cock & Koch, 1991:193-207);
- poverty issues such as social and economic welfare of local communities, urbanisation and human settlements, urban poverty, housing, services and squatting (Coovadia *et al* in Hallowes, 1993:156-184; Jacobsohn in Cock & Koch, 1991:212-214; Jere in Hallowes, 1993:139-148; Viljoen & Adler in Hallowes, 1993:149-155); and
- industrial health and labour issues (Davis in Hallowes, 1993:70-73; Harris in Hallowes, 1993:84-90; Miller in Hallowes, 1993:96-100; Morokong in Hallowes, 1993:91-95; Thorpe in Hallowes, 1993:77-83).

These issues are raised in publications on the environmental/green movement. This does not necessarily mean that they are emphasised by the members of the environmental/green movement. Ardiel Soeker (personal communication, 20 April 1999), Western Cape regional organiser of the EJNF, confirmed that EJNF focuses on social justice, equity, sustainable development and obtaining a healthy environment for all. He considered the issues and problems at the South African National NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) poverty hearings, a good reflection of the concerns taken up by EJNF. These issues include:

- equitable distribution of land and land reform
- access to sustainable energy sources, e.g. many people are still dependent on woodfuel that has to be fetched from increasingly longer distances
- adequate infrastructure such as a clean water supply, sanitation and waste services
- industrial pollution and resultant health problems
- management of waste, especially hazardous/toxic waste material
- food security, in other words the availability of adequate supplies of nutritious and safe food to all
- worker health and safety issues on farms, in mining and in industry
- global climate change and watershed degradation

- the distribution of negative environmental costs caused by the production of consumer goods. The argument is that the poor bear the brunt of the environmental costs while the rich consume the goods.
- lack of control over trade by local people, in other words the international trade system
- access to decision-making structures of government (SANGOCO, 1998:5-6, 13-21, 42-44).

The above issues are typical of the environmental/green groups in developing societies as identified in Chapter 3. However, when one takes a look at directories of the groups that are part of the South African environmental/green movement, a different picture emerges. By analysing the groups listed in *The Green Pages* (1993), *The South African Environmental Directory* (1999) and *The Environmental Action Resource Book for Capetonians* (1998), one can obtain a broad picture of the environmental/green movement of South Africa. Such an analysis can only provide a broad indication of the different groups making up the movement. It is not possible to ascertain the numerical strength of the different groups and the concise descriptions do not provide much more than a mission statement. All three directories also list governmental organisations, research units, the media and commercial ventures not normally regarded as part of a social movement.

The Green Pages (1993) is a comprehensive directory of more than 1000 environmental/green interest groups, research and rehabilitation institutions, political parties, institutions/groups providing environmental education, media that cover environmental issues and commercial companies that sponsor environmental programmes. These diverse groups and institutions are listed in 17 categories, including:

- "Animal rights": anti-cruelty groups, animal welfare groups
- "Birds": research and rehabilitation centres, bird clubs
- "Botanical": botanical gardens, societies and herbariums, wildflower societies, groups dealing with the research and protection of specific species, nurseries
- "Conservation: Coastal and river": groups dealing with the conservation of specific coastal areas, rivers and wetlands, including community-based activist groups
- "Conservation: Land and wildlife": national parks, trusts and societies for the protection of specific areas or species, zoos, hunting societies, public awareness programmes, wildlife societies

- "Consultants"
- "Development: agriculture, forestry, housing and land": rural development associations, agricultural research, management and training institutes and groups, farmer support groups and foundations, food gardens, groups dealing with forests, development agencies, groups promoting organic farming and permaculture
- "Environmental education"
- "General Environment": environmental/green activist groups, public awareness programmes, environmental impact assessment professionals
- "Geography & Geology": research units
- "Historical and Museums"
- "Media"
- "Political & Government"
- "Private sector"
- "Recreation & Outdoor"
- "Research"
- "Socio-economic issues including education and health".

The South African Environmental Directory (1999, http) uses 15 categories, namely:

- "Agriculture": groups focusing on agriculture as well as organic and sustainable farming
- "Animal health & rehabilitation": animal rights groups, anti-cruelty societies and rehabilitation centres
- "Avian conservation": research units, game parks and zoos, wetland preservation, rehabilitation centres, prevention of illegal trade in birds
- "Botanical conservation and studies": nurseries, university research units, botanical gardens, societies and herbariums
- "Consultants"
- "Eco-tourism"
- "Education and training"
- "Environmental conservation and management": national parks and game reserves, heritage groups and museums, groups dealing with waste management, groups dealing with endangered species, public awareness programmes, groups dealing with land reform and development, community-based conservation and/or activist groups

- "Environmental publications and media"
- "Governmental bodies and local administration"
- "Lodges, game and nature reserves"
- "Marine conservation": research institutions, natural history museums, aquariums, community-based activist groups
- "Research"
- "Trade, industry and commerce"
- "Waste management (including recycling)"
- "Wildlife conservation and management": national parks, anti-cruelty groups, groups dealing with endangered species, hunting associations, university research units

The Environmental Action Resource Book for Capetonians compiled by Kahn (1998) lists various environmental/green groups active in Cape Town and surroundings. She used eight categories, namely:

- "Waste, litter and recycling": commercial depots and recycling companies, anti-litter and clean-up groups
- "Environmental education": public awareness programmes, museums, environmental education at universities, community-based activist groups
- "Greening & food gardening": food gardens, groups dealing with herbs, organic food and permaculture, Botanical Institute
- "Environment": groups dealing with the built environment, animal rights and anti-cruelty groups, forest conservation, fauna and flora conservation, natural history clubs, local government departments, natural and cultural history museums, community-based conservation groups, community-based activist groups
- "Development & service organisations"
- "Health"
- "Political organisations, parliamentary committees and government departments"
- "Media".

Many activist groups, animal rights groups and alternative lifestyle groups, that may or may not have similar goals as the counterculture and alternative movements in North America and Europe, are listed. Development and health issues, including pollution, equitable land use and poverty issues are also listed. However, the more conservative

preservationist and resource management style groups that usually regard themselves as apolitical, still form at least a significant proportion of the environmental/green movement in South Africa. The hunting fraternity is also listed in these directories.

The environmental/green movement seems to include conventional conservation groups focusing on aesthetic and scientific values. These groups are unlikely to be motivated by either prematerialist or postmaterialist values. Groups that seem to be motivated either by postmaterialist or prematerialist values, or by both, are also active in South Africa. The relationship between the South African movement and its issues and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values will be discussed in Chapter 5 by means of the World Value Survey data of 1995.

4.5 Conclusion

South Africa has a long history of environmental concern. The environmental/green movement dates back to the middle of the 19th century and was controlled by the white elite until the middle of the 20th century.

The early movement showed very little concern about the needs and rights of the majority of the people of South Africa. Conservation programmes focused on placing control of natural resources in the hands of officials and denying access to these resources to the majority of the public. During the early part of the 20th century, the average white South African was mobilised to support environmentalism, but black South Africans experienced environmentalism as alienating and disempowering until the late 1980s.

Since the late 1980s, the environmental/green movement has become more human-centred. The established environmental/green groups started to focus on the needs of disadvantaged groups regarding environmental matters. The late 1980s also saw the introduction of the more radical forms of environmentalism such as political ecology, including environmental justice, and animal liberationalism in the country. The environmental/green movement tried to broaden their support base by emphasising the needs of the working class e.g. industrial health, and obtaining the co-operation of trade unions. Environmental

degradation is also linked to social injustice. The struggle against social injustice and poverty is therefore seen as necessary to obtain a healthy environment.

The issues introduced by the environmental/green movement since the late 1980s correspond to the typical environmental issues in developing societies such as poverty and health issues, as well as access to land and resources. This seems to indicate that survival (prematerialist) goals rather than quality of life (postmaterialist) goals will be prioritised by at least a section of the environmental/green movement in South Africa. This relationship will be further explored in Chapter 5 by means of survey data.

Age, education and residential location have been found as the most consistent variables regarding environmental concern in the rest of the world. Conflicting survey results have been found regarding age and residential location in South Africa. However, the Human Sciences Research Council has found that level of education does correlate positively with environmental concern. They also found that ethnicity is a significant predictor of environmental concern in South Africa, with Afrikaans- and English-speakers showing a higher level of environmental concern than Zulu- and Sotho-speakers. This supports historical studies that found that black South Africans do not relate to the environmental/green movement because of alienating and disempowering experiences regarding the movement in the past. The demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmental/green movement of South Africa will be further explored in Chapter 5 by means of survey data.

Chapter 5

1995 World Value survey: Analysis of data set and discussion

5.1 Introduction

Ronald Inglehart, as discussed in Chapter 2.3, linked the growth of environmentalism and the European style green parties to a shift from materialist towards postmaterialist values. Materialist values entail the prioritisation of economic and physical security goals and postmaterialist values the prioritisation of quality of life goals. This shift in values is attributed to the relative wealth and experience of peace in advanced industrialised societies since the Second World War.

Taylor, as discussed in Chapter 2.6, found that the prematerialist-postmaterialist value dimension is a more valid value dimension in South Africa than the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension. She also found that there is no visible trend towards postmaterialism in South Africa and that the majority of the South African population is concerned with prematerialist and materialist goals. Prematerialist values entail survival goals. If it is accepted that the growth of environmentalism is linked to the growth of postmaterialism, Taylor's findings raise doubts about the future of environmentalism in South Africa.

The relationship between environmentalism/greens and materialist-postmaterialist values was discussed at length in Chapter 3. Several authors such as Brechin & Kempton (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) have questioned the relationship between the environmental/green movement and a shift towards postmaterialism, because the low levels of postmaterialism in developing societies do not explain the high levels of environmentalism in the same societies reflected in the growth of grassroots environmental groups in these societies. It was concluded on the basis of a literature study that European style green parties draw support from a significant proportion of participants of the new social movements and their growth can be linked to the shift towards postmaterialism in advanced industrialised societies. However, postmaterialism cannot explain the emergence and growth of the environmental/green movement as a whole, especially in developing

societies. Environmentalism in developing societies mobilises around survival issues such as health and access to resources. It is therefore possible that prematerialist or survival values may also be linked to the growth of environmentalism.

In this chapter these questions will be investigated by means of survey data. The World Value Survey (WVS) was developed by Inglehart and others for his research regarding materialism and postmaterialism. The WVS was conducted in South Africa by Markinor in 1981, 1990, 1995. The universe of the sample design of the first two surveys excluded all blacks (1981) and rural blacks (1990). The universe of the 1995 sample design consisted of all South Africans older than 16 and was stratified according to province, population and community size. The 1995 sample size was 2935 and weighted to the full population. The margin of error is 5%. The data from this survey can therefore be used to make deductions about patterns in the general adult population of South Africa. The concept of prematerialism was also introduced in the 1995 WVS in South Africa (see Chapter 2.6) (Taylor, 1998:61).

The demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmental/green movement will be ascertained, using the 1995 WVS South African data sets. The relationship between this movement in South Africa and prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism will be discussed. Lastly a socio-economic profile of the "don't know" response group will also be constructed as this group is an important target group if the environmental/green movement wants to broaden its support base.

5.2 Data analysis and construction of indexes

This study is a secondary data analysis using the WVS that was not primarily designed to research the environmental/green movement. The survey therefore has shortcomings that will be discussed in this section. The survey does, however, include a number of questions regarding environmentalism. The main advantage of this survey for the purpose of this study is that the survey was a national survey. No other studies have been completed on environmentalism/greens using a national sample.

The South African environmental/green movement has often been described as a white middle class movement. If this is the case, the movement's growth potential is limited in South Africa with its mainly black population. The first aim of this chapter is therefore to construct a demographic and socio-economic profile of active members of the environmental/green organisations as well as the environmentally concerned. The emergence of the movement world-wide has also been linked to a shift towards postmaterialism. This proposition was questioned in Chapter 3 and it was suggested, based on a literature study, that there may be an link between prematerialist values and environmentalism in a developing society such as South Africa. Therefore the relationship between active members of an environmental organisation, the environmentally concerned and the concepts of prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism will also be discussed.

Active members of an environmental/green organisation were identified with the question: "Now I am going to read off a list of voluntary organisations: for each one, could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of that type of organisation?" Environmental organisation" is one of the items listed. As discussed in Chapter 3.3, environmentalism is a vague concept and different people have different understandings of the concept. This is also the case in South Africa where environmental/green movement includes a wide variety if interests (See Chapter 4.4). One can therefore expect that people with diverse values and interests would have identified themselves as active members of an environmental organisation.

"Identifying the "environmentally concerned" was more problematic. Three sets of questions were used to build three separate indexes. A factor analysis, using the principal component analysis method, has been conducted for each of them and their level of reliability has been established by using Cronbach's alpha. Therefore, the environmentally concerned have been identified on the basis of (dis)agreement with specified attitudes and opinions. The selected items is widely used to measure environmental concern (see for example Dunlap & Scarce, 1991; Gillroy & Shapiro, 1986; Mohai & Bryant, 1998). However, the conclusions from the literature study of the environmental/green movement in developing societies as discussed in Chapter 3, Sections 3.3 and 3.4.3.2 suggests that these items may not tap all forms of environmentalism in developing societies.

The "don't know" responses were treated as missing cases. One can at best speculate on the reason why a respondent selected the "don't know" response. Possible reasons range from the respondent not having an opinion/attitude through unwillingness to give such opinion to ignorance of the issues involved. Several authors such as Gilliam & Granberg (1993), Mathiowetz (1998) and Sanchez & Morchio (1992) commented that the "don't know" response is problematic, because one does not know the reasoning behind the response. According to them, the best option is to prevent or limit such responses during data collection. This study is, however, based on secondary data. According to Bourque & Clark (1992:60), the easiest way to deal with "don't know" responses is to treat them as missing cases. All three indexes have a very high number of missing cases, namely 15.2%, 11% and a very high 41.4%. George & Mallery (1999:46-48) suggest that if a variable has 15% or less missing data, it is acceptable to replace such missing data by for example the mean of distribution. However, this procedure has little effect on the number of cases that can be identified as "environmentally concerned" as set out below. This procedure also lowers the already low reliability of the indexes.

Since the content of this chapter deals mainly with those who have been identified as being "environmentally concerned" and the "don't know" response group, the "don't know" responses were treated as missing cases in the construction of the indexes without replacing them as suggested by George & Mallery. Therefore the data obtained from these indexes gives information about those who offered an opinion on all the index items and no deductions can be made of the sample and its universe in general.

The first question dealing with environmental issues reads as follows:

Q "I am now going to read out some statements about the environment. For each one I read out can you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

1 I would agree to an increase in taxes if the extra money were used to prevent environmental damage.

Table 5.1: Factor analysis results– Invest in Environment Index

	Factor
	1
2	0.875
1	0.869
3	0.639

2 I would buy things at 20% higher than usual prices if it would help to protect the environment.

3 South Africa's environmental problems can be solved without any international agreements to handle them."

Although all three items load on one factor, an index constructed from all three items has an alpha of only 0.3681. However, the index's alpha is 0.8083 if only the first two items are used to construct an index. Therefore the *Invest in Environment Index*, measuring the respondents' willingness to spend more money out of environmental concern, was constructed using the first two items. One would expect that willingness to invest in the environment is a stronger measure of environmental concern in an advanced industrial society than a developing society as the wealthy are in a better position to afford higher taxes and prices.

The second question dealing with environmental issues measures whether a respondent undertook any activities during the preceding twelve months out of concern for the environment. It reads as follows:

Q "Which, if any, of these things have you done in the last 12 months, out of concern for the environment? (Answer have done, have not, don't know)

1 Have you chosen household products that you think are better for the environment?

2 Have you decided for environmental reasons to reuse or recycle something rather than throw it away?

3 Have you tried to reduce water consumption for environmental reasons?

4 Have you attended a meeting or signed a letter or petition aimed at protecting the environment?

5 Have you contributed to an environmental organisation?"

Table 5.2: Factor analysis results – Environmental Activities Index

	Factor
	1
2	0.766
1	0.739
3	0.708
5	0.690
4	0.680

The five items all load on one factor. However, the alpha of the index activities is a relatively low 0.7595. The alpha of the five items together is higher than any other combination of the items. Cronbach's alpha can be interpreted in two different ways.

Firstly, it can be viewed as the correlation between this index (or scale) and all other possible tests of scales containing the same number of items – in this case five. Secondly it can be interpreted as the squared correlation between the score a respondent obtains on a particular index (or test/scale) and the score (s)he would have obtained if questioned on all the possible items in the universe, in other words the perfect measuring instrument. An alpha of 1 indicates a perfect correlation while 0 indicates no correlation. Cronbach's alpha tends to be higher the more items are included in the index. The rule of thumb is to use indexes with an alpha of 0.8 or higher. However at least one author on research methodology (De Vaus, 1996:256) considers a score of 0.7 to be usable even though he gave 0.8 as the rule of thumb in an earlier edition of the same book (De Vaus, 1986:47). See also Foster (1998:203) for the same view. Foster continues that indexes with a reliability level of less than 0.7 should not be used. For the purpose of this study, it is accepted that this index is not ideal but usable, especially if the lack of survey data regarding environmentalism on a national level is taken into account.

As is the case with the first index, the first two items of the *Environmental Activities Index* can be considered as reflecting issues more typical of environmental/green issues in advanced industrialised societies as they reflect a consumerised society. The last three items reflect more universal environmental/green activities.

The third index - the *General Environmental Index* - measures attitudes towards a person's relationship with his/her natural environment, especially the use and abuse of natural resources. The items address issues that feature in different environmental discourses, ranging from preservationism and conservationism to environmental justice issues. The question is as follows:

Q "A lively debate is currently under way regarding the environment. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree with the statements below.

1 Access to electricity is a basic right.

2 Humans have no right to use nature except to satisfy basic human needs.

3 Present levels of pollution of nature are too high.

4 Humankind was created to rule over the rest of nature.

5 The country's present population growth rate is a serious threat to the environment.

6 The way in which I live will ensure that my children inherit a clean and healthy environment.

7 Nature will have to be sacrificed in order to satisfy basic needs in South Africa.

8 Ownership of land gives one the right to do anything on it."

Items 4, 7 and 8 were recoded in the opposite direction. The eight items loaded on two factors using the principal component analysis as extraction method. The reliability score (Cronbach's alpha) is again low using all eight items (0.6998) and using items two to eight (0.7338). The question on whether access to electricity is a right can be answered differently by various types of environmentalists/greens. While the environmental justice subgroup will consider access to electricity as a major environmental concern, supporters of more conservative ecophilosophies such as the preservationists and conservationists may not even regard it as an environmental issue. The item also taps values that have nothing to do with environmentalism as it is a general poverty/social justice issue. An index was therefore constructed using items two to eight. The percentage of missing cases, when "don't knows" are coded as missing, is very high, namely 41.4%. The *General Environmental Index* is a less than ideal instrument, but is useful for exploratory research in the absence of more reliable instruments.

Table 5.3: Factor analysis results – General Environmental Index

	Component	
	1	2
3	0.728	0.191
5	0.723	0.240
7r	0.613	-0.409
8r	0.602	-0.458
4r	0.571	-0.292
2	0.570	0.332
6	0.514	0.412
1		0.631

The *Invest in the Environment* and *Environmental Activities Index*es seem to emphasise environmental issues in developed societies. The *General Environmental Index* includes a mixed set of items measuring concerns emphasised by different ecophilosophies as discussed in Chapter 3. The indexes do not reflect environmental issues typical of developing societies such as access to resources, resource depletion, health problems and poverty issues (see Chapter 3.3.2). Also, salient issues in South Africa such as litter, noise, overpopulation are not included (see Chapter 4.4). Some of the index items can be

considered as divisive within the environmental/green movement. The item regarding access to electricity is a good example of an environmental justice concern that may not be regarded as an environmental concern by conservationists and preservationists. However, it was not used in the index as it lowered the reliability score and does not load on the first extracted factor. None of the items in the three indexes therefore reflect environmental issues that are typical of environmental/green movements in developing societies and the environmental justice subgroup within the movement. The three environmental indexes therefore tend to measure environmental concern as found in developed societies and exclude some manifestations of environmental concern found in developing societies. This may influence the validity of the findings of this study as South Africa can be regarded as a developing society.

With all three indexes, only those respondents who scored high on environmental concern, i.e. "strongly agree" and "agree" in the *Invest in the Environment* and *General Environmental Indexes* and "mainly have" in the *Environmental Activities Index* are regarded as being environmentally concerned for the purpose of this study. The demographic and socio-economic profiles of the environmentally concerned, as measured by these three environmental indexes, as well as that of the active members of an environmental organisation, is constructed in this chapter. The environmentally concerned category is also cross-tabulated with those who are active members of the an environmental organisation.

Inglehart's proposition that the growth of environmentalism is linked to the growth of postmaterialism was discussed in Chapter 3. It was argued that this proposition does not explain the existence of environmentalism in developing societies. A further three indexes were therefore constructed to investigate the relationship between environmental concern on the one hand and prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism on the other. These three indexes were cross-tabulated with active membership of an environmental organisation and the three environmental indexes.

Questions A2, A3 and A4 in the 1995 WVS each contain two prematerialist, two materialist and two postmaterialist goals. Respondents were asked to indicate their first most desirable, second most desirable and third most desirable goal in each question. The

most desirable value was coded 1, the second 2 and the third 3. The three values that were not ranked were all coded 4. Three indexes based on the ranking of prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values were constructed, using the two relevant goals from each of the three questions for each index. Four subgroups were identified regarding each set of goals, namely:

- those who ranked the relevant (set of two prematerialist or materialist or postmaterialist) goals first and second most desirable in each of the three sets of questions. This group would have scored 9, i.e. 3(1+2) and are identified as pure prematerialists or materialists or postmaterialists.
- those who did not rank a set of goals in any of the three questions, in other words those who scored 24, i.e. 3(4+4). (Indicated as not ranked in tables).

The rest of the respondents have been identified as mixed types and divided into two groups with those closer to 9 identified as high and those closer to 24 as low. The mixed types therefore are:

- those who ranked the relevant goals first, second or third desirable in each of the three questions (high)
- those who sometimes ranked the relevant goals in each of the three questions (low).

Inglehart also divided respondents into pure materialists, pure postmaterialists and mixed types. However, his methodology does not make provision for the three sets of values used in South Africa. Taylor (1998:69-70, 75-77) used a different method recoding the variables to change them from ordinal to interval variables. Values indicated as third most desirable were not taken into account. The respondents could obtain a score between 1 and 10 with those scoring 10 being identified as pure types.

5.3 Demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmentally concerned

The demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmental/green movement in general was discussed in Chapter 3.3.2. It was summarised as follows:

- The movement tends to be proportionally over-represented among the youth.
- Members tend to have a higher than average educational level.

- The movement is stronger in urban areas.
- The members tend to be employed in the information and professional sector or outside formal job categories e.g. housewives and students.
- Members have a higher than average income.

The demographic profile of the South African environmental/green movement was discussed in Chapter 4 on the basis of previous survey results. None of these surveys used a national sample. Contradictory results have been found regarding age, residential location (i.e. the urban/rural divide) and gender in South Africa. However, educational level, job category, ethnicity and language were found to be good predictors of environmental concern. The PAGEC study (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found that respondents with obtaining matriculation (i.e. completed high school) or less education are less likely to be concerned about the environment than those with post-matric education. Also, people in the professional job category tend to be more environmentally concerned than blue collar workers. Various studies found a correlation between ethnicity and language and environmental attitudes. Many of these studies, such as the PAGEC study, used home language as indication of ethnicity. The PAGEC study found that more Afrikaans- (35%) and English-speaking (42%) respondents indicated environmental concern than Zulu- (24%) and Southern Sotho-speakers (24%). The study was conducted only among these four language groups. This finding supports historical studies that found that black South Africans tend not to relate to the environmental/green movement, partly due to alienating and disempowering experiences in the past (see Chapter 4.2.2).

5.3.1 Active members of an environmental organisation

In the WVS, 7.3% of the respondents identified themselves as active members of an environmental organisation. A further 11.7% of the respondents indicated that they are inactive members of an environmental organisation. As discussed in Chapter 4.4, a large variety of organisations are regarded as environmental organisations in South Africa. These organisations include anti-litter groups, educational organisations, anti-cruelty groups, nurseries, hunters' societies, wildlife conservation and green activist groups. People also have different understandings of the concept environment. Therefore self-

identification allows a broad section of the South African population with diverse interests to identify themselves as active members of an environmental organisation.

Table 5.4: Active members and inactive members of an environmental organisation

	%
Active member	7.3
Inactive member	11.7
Don't belong	81
Total	100

N=23 725 weighted

To obtain a demographic and socio-economic profile of the active members of environmental organisations in South Africa, active membership of an environmental organisation was cross-tabulated with the following demographic and socio-economic variables:

- gender
- age
- level of education
- status of employment ("Employed or not? If employed how many hours per week?")
- professional or occupational categories
- class (self-placement by respondent)
- income
- ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)
- home language
- urban/rural residential location
- province.

Firstly, the data was analysed to determine what demographic and socio-economic characteristics are proportionally over-represented (i.e. more than 7.3% within a sub-group) among active members of environmental organisations.

A major criticism against the South African environmental/green movement is that it is white middle class movement and it therefore does not have a future in South Africa, a developing country with a large black and poor population. It is therefore necessary not

only to compile a profile of characteristics that are over-represented, but also a profile of the movement itself. The two profiles can differ considerably as some subgroups, for example people with postgraduate qualifications, form such a small minority of the South African population that they may form a very small minority of active members of environmental organisations even though they are proportionally over-represented.

Table 5.5: Membership of environmental organisation and gender

Member of an environmental organisation	Male	Female	Total
Active member	52.3%	47.7%	100%
	6%	6.7%	7.3%
Inactive	46.9%	53.1%	100%
	11.5%	11.8%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

The data within the cells reads from top to bottom: row percentage and column percentage. In Table 5.5, 52.3% of active members are male, while 6% of all male respondents are active members of an environmental organisation. This format has been used throughout.

There have been contradictory results regarding the gender composition of the environmental/green movement in South Africa. Some studies have found that women tend to show more concern for the environment than men while other studies found no relationship (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998: 38-39). Table 5.5 shows that men and women tend to be more or less equally represented among active members of environmental organisations. Gender is therefore not a good predictor of active membership of an environmental organisation.

Table 5.6: Membership of an environmental organisation and age

Member of an environmental organisation	16-29	30-44	45+	Refused	Total
Active	47.9%	30.6%	21.1%	0.4%	100%
	10.3%	6.2%	5.2%	17.1%	7.3%
Inactive	32.6%	34.3%	32.7%	0.3%	100%
	11.2%	11.1%	12.9%	22%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

The expected pattern based on studies in Europe and North America is that youth are proportionally over-represented amongst the active participants in environmental/green movements. An example is the German green party, *Die Grünen*, which drew 85% of its votes in the age group 45 and younger in the 1991 election (see Chapter 3.2.2). Previous studies on the relationship between age and environmental concern in South Africa have provided contradictory results. Two studies found the opposite of the expected pattern, namely that older people tend to be more environmentally concerned than the youth. The PAGEC study found no correlation between age and environmental concern (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:30-33, 95).

The pattern in Table 5.6 is consistent with the expected pattern, based on European and North American studies, but inconsistent with earlier studies in South Africa. Almost half of the active members of environmental organisations are younger than 29 and almost 80% are 44 and younger. The age group 16-29 is proportionally over-represented with 10.3% of this group being active members in contrast with the 7.3% of the total sample. This is the only age group that is proportionally over-represented.

Table 5.7: Membership of an environmental organisation and level of education

Member of an environmental organisation	Some primary school or less	Some high school	High school completed	Some university or post-matric	University degree	Post-graduate degree	Total
Active	16.2%	39.1%	24.9%	12.8%	4%	3.1%	100%
	3.8%	6.5%	12.7%	13.8%	11.2%	17.5%	7.3%
Inactive	24.1%	39.7%	19.8%	8.8%	4.6%	3%	100%
	9.1%	10.5%	16.1%	15.3%	20.3%	27.2%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

Level of education has been linked with environmental concern throughout the world, including South Africa. The PAGEC study conducted by the HSRC (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found that people with an educational qualification higher than matric are more likely to be environmentally concerned than people who have completed matric or less. The findings

of this study confirm this pattern. However, the dividing line seems to be between those who completed high school and those with some high school or less, rather than between those who completed high school and those with post-matric qualifications.

Morrison & Dunlap (as discussed by Eckersley, 1989:206) found that the leaders and active members of formal environmental/green groups usually have at least college education. One would therefore expect that those with some university/post-matric or more education would be over-represented. This is the case: 17.5 % of those with post-graduate qualifications are active members of an environmental organisation. This subgroup forms 3.1% of the active members, even though they are only 1.3% of the total sample. The subgroup with post-graduate qualifications form such a small minority of the South African population, that they form a small minority of the active members of the environmental organisations even though they are over-represented. The two other categories with more than high school education, those with some university or post-matric education and those with an university degree, are also over-represented.

Table 5.8: Membership of environmental organisation and status of employment

Member of an Environ-mental organisa-tion	Full-time	Part-time	Self-em-ployed	Retired /Pen-sion	House-wife	Stud-ent	Unem-ployed	Other	Total
Active	28.1%	8.2%	3.1%	7.7%	6.5%	28.5%	18%		100%
	5.7%	12.7%	5.3%	5.9%	5.6%	16.9%	5.3%		7.3%
In-active	42.6%	4.6%	4.6%	7.8%	6.9%	11.2%	21.9%	0.5%	100%
	13.9%	11.4%	12.5%	9.6%	9.4%	10.6%	10.4%	16.3%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

It was reported in Chapter 3.3.2 that a large number of active green supporters do not form part of the formal employment sector, for example, housewives, the unemployed and especially students. It was argued that this group may have more flexible time-schedules enabling them to be more actively involved in an organisation. Similar data is not available for South Africa. The findings of this study are partially consistent with this pattern (see

Table 5.8). Students are over-represented: 16.9% of students are active members in comparison with 7.3% of the total sample. Students also form almost 30% of the active members. Part-time workers are also over-represented, giving some credence to the argument of flexible time-schedules. Housewives and the unemployed are however under-represented.

Table 5.9: Membership of an environmental organisation and profession/occupation

Member of an environ-mental organisation	Manager/ Employer	Profes-sional	Office worker	Foreman/ Super-visor	Skilled/ semi-skilled manual Labour	Unskilled manual Labour
Active	8.4%	9.6%	10%	1.3%	9.6%	14.4%
	14.7%	11.7%	8.8%	7.5%	4.6%	4.5%
Inactive	145	300	262	6	405	581
	5.2%	10.8%	9.5%	0.2%	14.6%	21%
	14.7%	21.2%%	13.2%	2%	11.2%	10.5%

Member of an environ-mental organisation	Farmer	Agric worker	Armed forces/ security	Never had a job	Student	Not answered / refused	Total
Active	1.1%	0.9%	2.2%	35.7%	6.9%		100%
	9.1%	9.1%	14.9%	9.2%	19.7%		7.3%
Inactive	1.7%	6.8%	1.7%	26.1%	2%	0.3%	100%
	22.6%	10%	10.7%	10.7%	9.1%	4%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

International studies on the demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmental/green movement have found that the typical green supporter is employed in the information or professional sector. The movement tends not to draw support from the business/corporate sector and members of the labour movement. Students also tend to form a disproportionately large number of active participants in the environmental/green movement (see Chapter 3.3.2). The PAGEC study (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found similar patterns in South Africa. They found that professionals tend to be more positive towards environmental values than blue-collar workers. One would therefore expect that people

falling in the professional job category and students be over-represented and manual labourers (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled) will be under-represented.

Table 5.9 indicates that professionals and students are over-represented: 11.7% and 19.7% respectively. Managers and employers, including managers/employers of establishments with less than 10 employees, are also over-represented (14.7%). At first glance, this sub-group seems to be similar to the corporate/business category that tends to be under-represented among active members of the environmental/green movement. This is not necessarily the case as it may include managers/employers of small businesses that include the information and service sector. The armed forces/security workers form the third sub-group that is over-represented. The only job categories that are under-represented are skilled/semi-skilled manual labourers with 4.6% and unskilled labourers with 4.5%. In real terms, the largest group is those who have never had a job (35.7%). This job category does not necessarily refer to the unemployed only. It can also include those who have never needed or wanted to work.

Profession or occupation seems to be a good indicator of active membership of environmental organisations with managers/employers, professionals and those in security or armed forces being over-represented and manual labourers under-represented.

Table 5.10: Membership of environmental organisation and class (self-placement)

Member of an environ-mental organisation	Upper	Upper middle	Lower middle	Working	Lower	Don't know	Total
Active	4.6%	20.6%	16.2%	25.7%	25%	7.9%	100%
	25.1%	10.4%	7.6%	8.3%	4.6%	10%	7.3%
Inactive	62.3%	22.7%	15.8%	21.8%	35%	2.4%	100%
	20.4%	18.3%	11.8%	11.2%	10.2%	4.8%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

The environmental/green movement has been linked to postmaterialism and new social movements as discussed in Chapter 3.2. The movement, like postmaterialism and new

social movements, has been associated with the new middle class. In South Africa, the movement is associated with the middle class.

In this study, a quarter of the respondents who regard themselves as upper class, are also members of an environmental organisation (see Table 5.10). The upper class is therefore significantly over-represented. The upper-middle class is also slightly over-represented. The lower class, on the other hand, is under-represented while the lower-middle and working classes reflect the general pattern of 7.3%. The first dividing line appears to be between upper class and the rest, and the second dividing line between the middle and working classes on the one hand and the lower class on the other. The findings therefore differ from the expected pattern. More than half of the members of environmental organisations considers themselves to be members of the working and lower classes. This is inconsistent with the expected pattern.

The pattern from Table 5.10 indicates that class (self-placement) is a good predictor of active membership with the upper and upper-middle class being over-represented and the lower class under-represented.

Table 5.11: Membership of environmental organisation and income per month

Member of an Environmental organisation	R14000+	9000 – 13999	7000-8999	5000-6999	3000-4999
Active	3.3%	9.1%	8.8%	2.9%	6.5%
	0.3%	17.6%	12.7%	7.5%	11.6%
Inactive	2.8%	6.2%	5.7%	4.2%	4.6%
	17.4%	19.2%	13.2%	17%	13.1%

Member of an Environmental organisation	2000-2999	1000-1999	Up to 999	No answer refused	Total
Active	4.5%	13.9%	30.7%	20.3%	100%
	4.3%	6%	5.3%	9.4%	7.3%
Inactive	9%	25.1%	21.4%	21%	100
	13.6%	17.4%	5.9%	15.5%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

It was stated in Chapter 3.3.2 that the supporters of the environmental/green movement in general tend to have a slightly higher than average income. No data is available for South Africa. Table 5.11 indicates that the South African pattern is consistent with that of Europe and North America. 17.6% of the respondents earning between R9 000 and R13 999 per month are active members of an environmental organisation.[1] The first dividing line is between those who earn R5 000 and more per month and those earning less and the second between those who earn more than R3 000 or more per month and those earning less.

However, 58.8% of the respondents earn less than R2 000 per month. Of these, 42% earn less than R1 000 per month. Although the above table shows that people with a higher than the mean income are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation. However, a large percentage (44.5%) of the active members earn less than R2 000 per month as this group forms such a large section of the general population.[2]

Table 5.12: Member of an environmental organisation and ethnicity as recorded by interviewer

Member of an environmental organisation	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
Active	22.7%	71.3%	3.1%	2.9%	100%
	10.5%	7.1%	8.9%	2.5%	7.3%
Inactive	21.4%	69.5%	3.5%	5.6%	100%
	15.8%	11%	16.1%	7.8%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

The South African environmental/green movement is often described as a white middle class movement and the PAGEC study (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found that ethnicity is the most important predictor of environmental concern (see Chapter 4.3). The study used

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1 This includes the subgroup earning between R12 000 and R13 999 per month of whom almost a quarter (24.3%) are active members of an environmental organisation.

2 This income group of R2000 and less per month does not include only the uneducated and the poor. 2.3% of those who earn less than R1000 per month have some university or other post-matric education. 1.7% of those earning between R1000 and R1999 per month have some university or post-matric education, and 6.7% have an university degree. One can assume that at least some of these students are from well to do families.

Similarly, 38% of those earning less than R1000 per month are students and 11.1% work part-time. 23.8% of those earning between R1000 and R1999 per month are students and 10% part-time workers.

language to define ethnic boundaries and was limited to Afrikaans-, English-, Zulu- and South Sotho-speakers in Gauteng. In this study, both home language and race are included as variables. The interviewers classified the respondents according to race. The race categories used in the national census are used.

Table 5.12 shows that whites are slightly over-represented amongst active members of the environmental/green movement. On the other hand, people classified as coloureds are significantly under-represented. Blacks are proportionally represented and Indians are slightly over-represented. Race can therefore be included as a predictor for active membership of an environmental organisation. However, more than 70% of the active members of environmental organisations are black. Labelling the movement as white and middle class seems to be incorrect on the basis of this data, especially if one adds the finding that almost 45% of the active members earn less than R2 000 per month and 50% of the active members identify themselves as part of the lower and working classes.

Table 5.13: Membership of an environmental organisation and home language

Member of an environmental organisation	Eng	Afr	Zulu	Xhosa	Tswana	Sotho	Pedi	Venda
Active	13.6%	15.1%	22.2%	13.5%	6.7%	11.9%	11.9%	1.8%
	9.3%	6.9%	7%	5.9%	7.6%	10.2%	10.2%	12.6%
Inactive	13.8%	17%	17.6%	17.2%	12.1%	6.2%	7.1%	2.6%
	15%	12.4%	8.9%	11.9%	13.9%	11.2%	9.6%	28.7%

Member of an Environmental organisation	Tsonga/ Shangaan	Ndebele	Swazi	Indian	Other Euro	Other	Total
Active	3.5%	17%	0.6%			0.3%	100%
	7.4%	5.3%	2.4%			33.3%	7.3%
Inactive	3.3%	1.2%	1.4%	0.1%	0.2%	1.0%	100%
	10.9%	10.1%	8.8%	21.1%	26.1%	16.7%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

As mentioned above, the PAGEC study used language as an indicator of ethnicity. The study found that Afrikaans- and English-speakers are over-represented while speakers of Zulu and South Sotho, are under-represented.

Table 5.13[3] shows that Sotho-, Pedi-, and Venda-speakers are over-represented while the Xhosa-, Ndebele- and Swazi-speakers are under-represented. In contrast with the PAGEC study, the Sothospeakers are over-represented and both Afrikaans- and Zulu-speakers proportionally represented. None of these groups are over- or under-represented to a large degree, with the exception of Venda-speakers. However, Venda-speakers form a small number of the respondents and this may have skewed the results. It seems from this pattern that home language is not a good predictor of active membership of an environmental organisation. The findings regarding language are not necessarily inconsistent with the findings on the relationship between race and active membership described above. The majority of Indians are English-speaking while people identified as coloureds are either Afrikaans- or English-speaking.[4]

Table 5.14: Membership of environmental organisation and place of residence (urban/rural)*

Member of an Environmental organisation	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Total**
Active	43.5	56.5	100
	6.3	8.3	7.3
Inactive	36.4%	63.6%	100%
	8.4%	15%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

Towns with 20 000 or less residents were classified as rural and those with more than 20 000 as urban in this study.

Environmental/green movements usually draw a disproportionately large section of their members from urban areas. Some studies conducted in South Africa confirmed this trend

[3] Speakers of Indian, other European and other languages are not included in this analysis as their numbers are too small. These are the only subgroups with n < 100 (weighted).

[4] 96.4% of respondents of Indian descent are English-speaking. 23.1% of respondents categorised as coloured are English-speaking and 76.9% Afrikaans-speaking.

The majority of the respondents who are active members of an environmental organisation and are either Afrikaans- or English-speaking were categorised as white. The percentages are 82.9% and 74.6% respectively.

while others studies found no correlation between rural/urban residence and environmental concern (see Chapter 3.3.2 and Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998: 38-39). Table 5.14 shows that people living in rural areas are slightly more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation than those living in urban areas.

Table 5.15: Membership of an environmental organisation and province where respondent lives

Member of an environmental organisation	Gauteng	North Prov	Mpumalanga	North West	Kwa-Zulu-Ntl	Free State	East Cape	West Cape	North Cape	Tot
Active	29.8%	12.3%	1.6%	7.6%	26.9%	7%	11.1%	3.1%	127%	100%
	10.1%	8.8%	1.7%	7%	9.5%	7.1%	5.8%	2.1%	4%	7.3%
Inactive	12.3%	12.3%	3.5%	6.9%	16%	6.5%	15.3%	8%	1%	100%
	16.6%	14%	6%	10.3%	9%	10.7%	12.8%	8.9%	8.9%	11.7%

N=23 725 weighted

No data exists on the relationship between the province where a person lives and environmentalism as previous studies were confined to limited geographical areas for example Roodepoort (Reynolds, 1989) and Gauteng (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998).

Two provinces namely, Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng are slightly over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations. Three provinces are significantly under-represented, namely Mpumalanga and the Western Cape – each with less than 2% of inhabitants being active members of an environmental organisation - and the Northern Cape with 4%. This seems to be at odds with the finding that people living in rural areas are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation than those living in urban areas. Gauteng is urbanised while the Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape are mainly rural. However, Gauteng is only slightly over-represented and Kwazulu-Natal includes large areas that is regarded as rural in this survey, i.e. with a population of less than 20 000. Where the general profile is concerned, more than half of the active members of an environmental organisation live in Gauteng (29.8%) and KwaZulu-Natal (26.9%).

In summary: the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are proportionally over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations confirm the

expected pattern of young, educated, urban, professional or not in the formal job sector (e.g. student, not employed) with a higher income than average, with a few exceptions.

People between the ages of 16 and 19 are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisations than the rest of the population. Other demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are over-represented are:

- a completed high school education or more (especially postgraduate)
- student or part-time worker
- managers/employers, professionals and those working in the armed and security forces.
- consider oneself to be a member of the upper class
- earn more than R5 000 per month, although earning between R3 000 and R4 999 per month are also over-represented
- White or Indian
- English-, Sotho-, Pedi- or Venda-speaking
- lives in a rural area
- lives in KwaZulu-Natal or Gauteng.

However, the general profile of the active members of environmental organisations differs from the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are over-represented as many of these over-represented groups are small minorities in the South African population. The general demographic and socio-economic profile is as follow:

- between 16 and 19 years old (47,9%)
- some high school education (64%)
- is either a student or full time worker (56,6%)
- never had a job (35,7%)
- consider themselves as being middle class or lower class (50,7%)
- income of less than R1000 per month (44,5%)
- black (71,3%)
- Zulu-speaking (22%) with English-, Afrikaans-, Xhosa-, Sotho-, Pedi-speakers making up another 60%
- live in a rural area (56.5%)
- live in Gauteng or KwaZulu-Natal (56.7%).

5.3.2 The environmentally concerned and active members of an environmental organisation

The three environmental indexes, namely *Invest in the Environment*, *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* will be cross-tabulated with the same demographic and socio-economic variables used in the previous section to construct a profile of the environmentally concerned. The profile of the environmentally concerned will then be compared with the profile of those who are active members of an environmental organisation. The frequencies of the three indexes are given in Tables 5.16 – 5.18. The construction of the indexes has been discussed in Section 5.2. While the active membership category is based on self-identification and therefore open to individual interpretation, the category environmentally concerned is based on adherence to specified attitudes and opinions. The difference between those identified as active members and those as environmentally concerned can therefore be larger than merely the difference between those that become actively involved in promoting their concerns and those who do not. Active members may include people who will not be regarded as environmentally concerned as it includes people with different understandings of the environment and environmentalism.

Table 5.16: Frequency of Invest in the Environment Index

	%
Strongly agree	3.4
Agree	21.2
Neutral	12.7
Disagree	29.7
Strongly disagree	18
Total	85
Missing	15.1

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.17: Frequency of Environmental Activities Index

	%
Mainly have	19.8
Mainly have not	69.2
Total	89
Missing	11

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.18: Frequency of General Environmental Index

	%
Strongly agree	1.5
Agree	29.6
Disagree	26.9
Strongly disagree	0.6
Total	58.6
Missing	41.4

N=13 904 weighted

Respondents who answered "strongly agree" and "agree" in the *Invest in the Environment* and *General Environmental Indexes* as well as those who answered "mainly have" to the *Environmental Activities Index* are regarded as environmentally concerned for the purpose of this study. One has to be careful to come to any conclusions regarding the environmentally concerned as the influence of the "don't know" responses is excluded. The "don't knows" are treated as missing cases and the high level of "don't know" responses is the main explanation for the high percentage of missing cases in all three tables. The interpretation of the data can therefore only be limited to those respondents who answered all the items used to construct the data and cannot be extended to the sample as a whole. The "don't know" responses are discussed in Section 5.5 of this chapter.

The percentages of those measured as environmentally concerned are much higher than those who are active members of an environmental organisation. However, it is difficult to establish what the influence of the high missing rate is in this regard and one should be careful before reaching definite conclusions. There is a large overlap of respondents who are both active members of an environmental organisation and environmentally concerned: 51.1% (8.3% plus 42.8%) of those identified as environmentally concerned by the *Invest in*

the Environment Index are active members (see Table 5.18). The percentages in the case of the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* are 53.7% and 57.7% respectively (see Tables 5.19 and 5.20).

Table 5.19: Membership of an environmental organisation and Invest in Environment Index

Member of an environmental organisation	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
Active	8.3%	42.8%	23.5%	16.8%	8.7%	100%
	16.4%	13.4%	12.2%	3.7%	3.2%	7.8%
Inactive	5.9%	38.4%	14.9%	30.7%	10.1%	100%
	19.4%	20%	13%	11.4%	6.2%	13%
Don't belong	5.9%	21%	14%	37.5%	24.2%	100%
	64.3%	66.6%	74.7%	84.8%	90.6%	79.2%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.20: Membership of an environmental organisation and Environmental Activities Index

Member of an environmental organisation	Mainly have	Mainly have not	Total
Active	53.7%	46.3%	100%
	12.4%	4.6%	7.6%
Inactive	38.9%	61.1%	100%
	21.6%	9.7%	12.4%
Don't belong	16.7%	83.3%	100%
	59.9%	85.7%	80%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.21: Membership of an environmental organisation and General Environmental Index

Member of an environmental organisation	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
Active	4%	53.7%	42%	0.4%	100%
	15.6%	10.7%	9.2%	3.5%	10.1%
Inactive	2.5%	59%	38.4%	0.1%	100%
	14.2%	17.3%	12.4%	2.1%	14.8%
Don't belong	2.4%	48.4%	47.9%	1.3%	100%
	70.2%	77%	78.4%	94.4%	75.1%

N=13 904 weighted

Active members of an environmental organisation are also more likely to be identified as environmentally concerned. Active members of an environmental organisation are proportionally over-represented amongst those who are measured as environmentally concerned in all three indexes. Although more than half of the active members are categorised as environmentally concerned in Tables 5.19 and 5.20 (51.1% and 53.7%) and slightly less than half of the active members in Table 5.21 (47.7%), one should be careful to come to any conclusions as the influence of the "don't knows" is excluded.

All three tables indicate that a large number of respondents who show high levels of environmental concern are neither active nor inactive members of an environmental organisation (*Invest in the Environment Index* = 66.3%; *Environmental Activities Index* = 59.9%; *General Environmental Index* = 71.9%). The organised environmental/green movement therefore represents less than 40% of the environmentally concerned.

5.3.3 Demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmentally concerned

In the previous section active membership of an environmental organisation was cross-tabulated with demographic and socio-economic variables. The results are discussed within the framework of previous studies in Europe and North America as described in Chapter 3 and in South Africa as described in Chapter 4. These variables are:

- gender
- age

- level of education
- status of employment (Employed or not? If employed how many hours per week?)
- professional or occupational categories
- class (self-placement by respondent)
- income
- ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)
- home language
- Urban/rural residential location
- province.

In this section, the same variables are cross-tabulated with the three indexes measuring environmental concern. The results are compared with those in the previous section.

Table 5.22: Invest in Environment Index and gender

Invest in Environment Index	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree /agree	52.3%	47.7%	100%
	30.9%	21.1%	29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.23: Environmental Activities Index and gender

Environmental Activities Index	Male	Female	Total
Mainly have	46%	54%	100%
	21.5%	22.9%	22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.24: General Environmental Index and gender

General Environmental Index	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree /agree	49.2%	50.8%	100%
	53.2%	52.9%	53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

Like active membership of an environmental organisation, gender is not a good predictor regarding environmental concern (see Tables 5.22 to 5.24). Males and females show similar levels of environmental concern, with the exception of the *Environmental Activities Index*. Females tend to be slightly more environmentally active. However, this discrepancy may be explained by the index items. Recycling, buying consumer goods and use of water, especially in the domestic sphere, may more often be undertaken by females than males due to traditional gender roles.

Table 5.25: Invest in Environment Index and age

Invest in Environment Index	16-29	30-44	45+	Refused	total
Strongly agree /agree	37.1%	34.7%	27.9%	0.2%	100%
	30.8%	28.2%	27.7%	35.9%	29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.26: Environmental Activities Index and age

Environmental Activities Index	16-29	30-44	45+	Refused	Total
Mainly have	33.3%	35.7%	30.8%	0.3%	100%
	21.6%	21.8%	23.6%	30.8%	22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.27: General Environmental Index and age

General Environmental Index	16-29	30-44	45+	Refused	Total
Strongly agree /agree	31.0%	35.2%	33.6%	0.2%	100%
	47.5%	51.6%	61.4%	85.7%	53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

The pattern that the youth are more likely to be environmentally concerned is not borne out by the above statistics (see Tables 5.25 to 5.27). None of the age groups can really be regarded as either under- or over-represented regarding the first two indexes. The exception is the *General Environmental Index* that shows that older people tend to be more environmentally concerned. This finding is consistent with the findings of two earlier

studies quoted in the PAGEC report (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998), but inconsistent with the findings regarding active membership.

If one looks at all three indexes together, one finds contradictory results. The age group 30-44 is proportionally represented. The age groups 16-29 and 45+ show opposite patterns. The age group 16-29 is over-represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*, but is slightly under-represented regarding the *General Environmental Index*. The age group 45+ shows the opposite trend. All three age groups are proportionally represented regarding the *Environmental Activities Index*. The relationship between age and environmental concern therefore seems inconclusive. The PAGEC study also did not find any relationship between age and environmental concern.

Table 5.28: Invest in Environment Index and educational level

Invest in Environment Index	Some primary school or less	Some high school	High school completed	Some university or post-matric	University Degree	Post-graduate degree	Total
Strongly agree / agree	24.6% 25%	43% 28.3%	18.7% 34.8%	9% 34.6%	3.1% 30.5%	1.7% 34.7%	100% 29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.29: Environmental Activities Index and educational level

Environmental Activities Index	Some primary school or less	Some high school	High school completed	Some university or post-matric	University degree	Post-graduate degree	Total
Mainly have	11.4% 8.2%	36.2% 18.4%	26.6% 40.7%	16.5% 53%	6% 49.4%	3.3% 55.5%	100% 22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.30: General Environmental Index and educational level

General Environmental Index	Some primary school or less	Some high school	High school completed	Some university or post-matric	University degree	Post-graduate degree	Total
Strongly agree / agree	18% 42%	39.2% 47.5%	21% 59.4%	13% 75.5%	5.7% 80%	3.2% 88.8%	100% 53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

These respondents who completed high school or have a higher educational level are over-represented amongst those that were identified as environmentally concerned, as measured by the *Invest in the Environment Index*. Those respondents who have some high school education are proportionally represented while those with a primary school education or less, are under-represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*.

A similar pattern, namely that higher educational level correlating positively with higher levels of environmental concern, was found regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. Between 40% and 56% of the respondents who have completed high school or more have undertaken activities out of environmental concern, and those with postgraduate education are the most over-represented. On the other hand, those with primary school or less are significantly under-represented. Those respondents with some university or post-matric education or more are also over-represented amongst those indicating agreement with environmental values as measured by the *General Environmental Index*.

Those with primary school education or less are under-represented in all three tables, while those with some high school education are under-represented regarding *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. Those respondents who completed high school or more are over-represented in all three tables, with the exception of those with a university degree. The last group (those with a university degree) is proportionately represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*, but over-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*.

In both the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*, the first dividing line is between those with some high school education and those who completed high school (matric). The second dividing line is between those who completed high school and those with post-matric education. The dividing line regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index* is between those with some high school education and those who completed high school or have a higher educational qualification.

Educational level therefore seems to be a good indicator of environmental concern. The major dividing line is between those who completed high school or more and those with less education in all three indexes. In particular, those with some post-matric education, including university graduates, show high levels of environmental concern as measured by the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. Educational level therefore correlates positively with environmental concern. This finding is consistent with the expected pattern.

Table 5.31: Invest in Environment Index and status of employment

Invest in Environment Index	Full-time	Part-time	Self-employed	Retire/ Pen-sion	House-wife	Stu-dent	Unem-ployed	Other	Total
Strongly agree / agree	37.4% 29%	4.2% 24.7%	4.4% 29.3%	7.6% 10.2%	7.9% 27.6%	16.1% 36.8%	22% 27.6%	0.3% 40%	100% 29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.32: Environmental Activities Index and status of employment

Environmental Activities Index	Full-time	Part-time	Self-employed	Retire/ Pen-sion	House-wife	Stu-dent	Unem-ployed	Other	Total
Mainly have	40.7% 25.1%	6.9% 34.4%	5.4% 28.3%	9.7% 22.9%	11% 27.7%	10.1% 18.2%	16% 14.7%	0.2% 14.7%	100% 22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.33: General Environmental Index and status of employment

General Environmental Index	Full-time	Part-time	Self-employed	Retire/ Pen-sion	House -wife	Stu-dent	Unem-ployed	Other	Total
Strongly agree	39.5%	6.7%	4.2%	10.3%	9.2%	11%	18.6%	0.4%	100%
/ agree	56.9%	68.1%	52.5%	58.5%	51.4%	44.6%	46.1%	84.6%	53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

As in the case of active membership of an environmental organisation, students are over-represented in the *Invest in the Environment Index*, but under-represented in the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* (see Tables 5.31 to 5.33). In general, status of employment is not a good predictor regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*. The column percentages, ranging from 24.7% to 36.8%, are more or less equal to that of the whole sample, namely 29%. Therefore all the subgroups are more or less proportionally represented and no subgroup seems to be more likely than others to invest in the environment.

The *Environmental Activities Index* reflects the expected pattern, namely that people with more flexible time-schedules tend to be more active in the environmental/green movement. Part-time workers, the self-employed and housewives are over-represented, but students are under-represented. This tendency is also borne out by the statistic regarding active membership discussed in the previous section. Part-time workers are also over-represented and students under-represented regarding the *General Environmental Index* (see Table 5.33). The unemployed is the second subgroup that is under-represented. Similar to the results of the *Invest in the Environment Index*, the other subgroups are all more or less proportionally represented. It therefore seems that status of employment is in general not a good predictor of environmental concern, except in the case of activity level, where people with a flexible time-schedule seem to be more active.

A clear pattern cannot be distinguished if one analyses Tables 5.31 to 5.33. No group is over- or under-represented regarding all three indexes measuring environmental concern. Part-time workers are over-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*, while students and the unemployed are under-represented regarding these two indexes. The pattern with reference to part-time workers seems to

indicate that they have more time for activities, but probably less money available. The data on students contradicts the expected pattern.

Table 5.34: Invest in the Environment Index and profession / occupation

Invest in Environment Index	Manager/ employer	Profes-sional	Office	Foreman/ Supervisor	Skilled/ semi-skilled manual	Unskilled manual
Strongly agree/	4.9%	7.4%	12.8%	1.6%	16.1%	18.1%
agree	31.6%	31.9%	40.5%	34.4%	28.9%	22.7%

Invest in Environment Index	Farmer	Agric worker	Armed forces/ security	Never had a job	Student	Not answered / refused	Total
Strongly agree /	0.3%	6.5%	1.4%	26.4%	3.8%	0.7%	100%
agree	9.6%	26.7%	33.1%	28.8%	45.2%	26.7%	29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.35: Environmental Activities Index and profession / occupation

Environmental Activities Index	Manager/ Employer	Profes-sional	Office worker	Foreman/ supervisor	Skilled/ semi-skilled manual	Unskilled manual
Mainly have	9%	13.5%	17%	2.8%	13.6%	15.1%
	49.3%	48.1%	44.6%	52%	19.4%	14.5%

Environmental Activities Index	Farmer	Agric worker	Armed forces/ security	Never had a job	Student	Not answer/ refused	Total
Mainly have	1.8%	1.3%	1.3%	21.9%	2.6%	.1%	100%
	45.3%	3.7%	24.8%	17.2%	23.3%	5%	22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.36: General Environmental Index and profession / occupation

General Environmental Index	Manager/ Employer	Profes-sional	Office Worker	Foreman/ Supervisor	Skilled/semi -skilled manual	Unskilled manual
Strongly agree/	6%	12.6%	12.8%	2.4%	17%	16.8%
agree	61%	78.2%	60%	74.3%	54.5%	49%

General Environmental Index	Farmer	Agric worker	Armed forces/ security	Never had a job	Student	Not answer/ refused	Total
Strongly agree /	1.4%	4.8%	1.1%	21.7%	2.7%	0.6%	100%
agree	58.7%	43.6%	48.2%	44%	52.9%	27.8%	53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

The pattern regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* is very similar. As expected from international trends, professionals are over-represented in all three tables, especially regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. The other subgroups that are over-represented in all three indexes are: management/employees, office workers and supervisors/foremen. These subgroups are also over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations. Farmers are over-represented in the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*, but very under-represented in the *Invest in the Environment Index*.

Contrary to the expected pattern, students are over-represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*, but under-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities Index* and the *General Environmental Index*. Unskilled manual labourers and agricultural workers are under-represented in all three indexes. In addition, skilled and semi-skilled manual labourers are proportionally represented while those who have never had a job are under-represented in the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*.

Occupation or profession seems to be a good predictor of environmental concern with four groups being over-represented and two groups under-represented in all three indexes. In addition another group is over-represented and one under-represented regarding *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. People in the job categories of managers/employers, professionals, office workers, supervisors/foremen and farmers are

more likely to be environmentally concerned than agricultural workers, unskilled manual labourers and those who have never had a job.

As discussed in Section 5.3.2 of this chapter, professionals and managers/employers were also more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation while manual labourers (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled) are less likely to be active members. There is therefore some similarity between the findings regarding the relationship between occupation/profession and active membership and occupation/profession and environmental concern.

Table 5.37: Invest in Environment Index and class (self-placement)

Invest in the Environment Index	Upper	Upper middle	Lower middle	Working	Lower	Don't know	Total
Strongly agree / agree	1.5% 31.8%	20.1% 36.8%	17.7% 32.3%	26.7% 33%	29.6% 22.2%	4.2% 27.1%	100% 29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.38: Environmental Activities Index and class (self-placement)

Environmental Activities Index	Upper	Upper middle	Lower middle	Working	Lower	Don't know	Total
Mainly have	2.8% 47.2%	35.1% 52.8%	19.2% 27.5%	22.4% 21.9%	17% 9.5%	3.5% 13.7%	100% 22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.39: General Environmental Index and class (self-placement)

General Environ-mental Index	Upper	Upper middle	Lower middle	Working	Lower	Don't know	Total
Strongly agree / agree	1.9% 55.1%	25.7% 67.8%	19.5% 59.3%	22.5% 50.8%	27.4% 42.7%	3.1% 3%	100% 53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

Perception of the class one belongs to seems to be a good predictor of environmental concern. Those who categorised themselves as being part of the upper, upper-middle and lower-middle classes are over-represented regarding all three indexes (see Tables 5.37 to 5.39). This is especially the case with those who consider themselves part of the upper-

middle class that is very over-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. In addition, those who consider themselves working class are over-represented in Table 5.37. This is consistent with the expected pattern, i.e. that the environmental/green movement is associated with the middle class in South Africa. The upper, upper-middle, lower-middle and working classes were also over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations. The lower class is under-represented in Tables 5.37 to 3.39. These findings are therefore consistent with those regarding active membership.

Table 5.40: Invest in Environment Index and income per month

Invest in the Environment Index	R14000+	9000 – 13999	7000-8999	5000 – 6999	3000 – 4999
Strongly agree/	1.8%	5.8%	6.4%	3.9%	6.6%
agree	24.4%	40.6%	32.5%	34.2%	43.1%

Invest in the Environment Index	2000 – 2999	1000 – 1999	Up to R999	No answer/ refused	Total
Strongly agree/	9.6%	16.9%	31.8%	17.2%	100%
agree	33.6%	28.2%	23.4%	32.8%	29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.41: Environmental Activities Index and income per month

Environmental Activities Index	R14000+	9000 – 13999	7000-8999	5000 – 6999	3000-4999
Mainly have	5.5%	9.9%	11.8%	7.2%	6.9%
	63.5%	55.7%	51.3%	52.3%	37.3%

Environmental Activities Index	2000 – 2999	1000 – 1999	Up to R999	No answer/ refused	Total
Mainly have	7.9%	14%	18.7%	18.1%	100%
	23.1%	18.2%	10%	26.2%	22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.42: General Environmental Index and income per month

General Environmental Index	R14000+	9000 – 13999	7000-8999	5000-6999	3000-4999
Strongly agree/ agree	4.2% 80.2%	7% 65%	10.5% 70.6%	5.3% 72.7%	6.2% 69.8%

General Environmental Index	2000-2999	1000-1999	Up to R999	No answer/ refused	Total
Strongly agree/ agree	7.8% 51%	17.7% 52.7%	24.9% 40%	16.4% 51.9%	100 53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

An analysis of Tables 5.40 to 5.42 shows that income is a relatively good predictor of environmental concern with higher income correlating positively with being environmentally concerned. The highest income bracket is over-represented to a large degree among the environmentally concerned as measured by the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. However, the subgroup most able to spend money out of environmental concern does not seem to be more inclined to do so than the total sample (see Table 5.40). Those earning between R3 000 and R13 999 per month are over-represented regarding all three environmental indexes. The only subgroups under-represented regarding all three environmental indexes are those earning R999 or less per month. The subgroup earning between R2 000 and R2 999 per month reflects the general pattern.

The major dividing line therefore seems to be an income of R3 000 per month. This is consistent with the findings regarding active membership of an environmental organisation.

Table 5.43: Invest in Environment Index and ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)

Invest in Environment Index	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
Strongly agree/	17.9%	65.8%	3.6%	12.8%	100%
agree	30.2%	26.8%	37.7%	41.6%	29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.44: Environmental Activities Index and ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)

Environmental Activities Index	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
Mainly have	41.7%	40.9%	4.7%	12.7%	100%
	58%	12.4%	38.9%	35.4%	22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.45: General Environmental Index and ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)

General Environmental Index	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
Strongly agree /	32.5%	51.1%	4.4%	11.9%	100%
agree	74.9%	43.1%	71.4%	59.4%	53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

The PAGEC study (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found that ethnicity is an important predictor of environmental concern. In the previous section, it was shown that whites and Indians are slightly over-represented among active members of an environmental organisation, blacks are proportionally represented and coloureds significantly under-represented.

An analysis of Tables 5.43 to 5.45 indicates that Indians and coloureds are over-represented regarding all three indexes measuring environmental concern. Whites are proportionally represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index* and over-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities Index* and *General Environmental Index*. Almost 60% of the white respondents indicated that they acted out of environmental concern as against 22.3% of the total sample. While blacks are proportionally represented among those who are willing to invest in the environment, they are under-represented regarding the other two indexes, especially regarding the *Environmental Activities Index*.

Table 5.46: Invest in Environment Index and home language

Invest in Environment Index	Eng	Afr	Zulu	Xhosa	Tswana	Sotho	Pedi	Venda
Strongly	13.1%	21.3%	17.5%	16.8%	7.2%	9.2%	7.3%	1.5%
agree/ agree	33.3%	35.4%	23.9%	26.5%	22.5%	41%	25.6%	38%

Invest in Environment Index	Tsonga/ Shangaan	Ndebele	Swazi	Indian	Other Euro	Other	Total
Strongly	2.1%	2%	1.5%	0.1%	0.2%	0.3%	100%
agree/ agree	18.9%	39%	33.5%	15.8%	52.2%	83.3%	29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.47: Environmental Activities Index and home language

Environmental Activities Index	Eng	Afr	Zulu	Xhosa	Tswana	Sotho	Pedi	Venda
Mainly have	25.1%	33.2%	12.5%	7.2%	7.5%	5.3%	5.8%	.6%
	50.9%	47.2%	11.8%	8.9%	16.7%	21%	16.1%	13.4%

Environmental Activities Index	Tsonga/ Shangaan	Ndebele	Swazi	Indian	Other Euro	Other	Total
Mainly have	1.3%	0.1%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	100%
	8.1%	1.8%	5%	60%	77.3%	66.7%	22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.48: General Environmental Index and home language[5]

General Environmental Index	Eng	Afr	Zulu	Xhosa	Tswana	Sotho	Pedi	Venda
Strongly agree	19.7%	29.1%	14.5%	16.9%	6.4%	2.7%	5.7%	0.7%
/ agree	72.9%	68.1%	44.9%	45.7%	56.4%	29.4%	33.4%	31.8%

[5] The language categories: Indian, other European and other languages were not included in the analysis below because of the small numbers of respondents. These are the only subgroups with n < 100 (weighted).

Table 5.48: General Environmental Index and home language[6] (continue)

General Environmental Index	Tsonga/ Shan-gaan	Ndebele	Swazi	Indian	Other Euro	Other	Total
Strongly agree	2.2%	1.2%	0.5%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	100%
/ agree	45.3%	50.9%	27.1%	57.1%	100%	66.7%	53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

The *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* produced similar results. There are a few cases where a subgroup is under-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*, but over-represented regarding *Invest in the Environment Index*, namely the Ndebele-, Swazi- and Venda-speakers. In addition, the Xhosa-speakers are proportionally represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index* and under-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. The Tswana-speakers are under-represented regarding the first two indexes (see Table 5.46 and 5.47), but slightly over-represented regarding the third (see Table 5.48). This is the only subgroup showing this pattern.

The English- and Afrikaans-speakers are the only subgroups that are over-represented regarding all three indexes. On the other hand, several subgroups are under-represented regarding all three indexes, namely Zulu-, Tswana-, Pedi-, and Tsonga/Shangaan-speakers.

English- and Afrikaans-speakers therefore seem to be more environmentally concerned than speakers of indigenous African languages. None of the indigenous African language groups are over-represented in more than one of the indexes, and then usually over-represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*. This finding is not contradictory to the finding with regard to race as English and Afrikaans-speakers include people of colour. For example, of the English-speaking respondents that were identified as environmentally concerned, using the *Environmental Activities Index*, 62.1% are white, 38.5% are Indian and 30.1% are coloured. Similarly, 54.8% of the Afrikaans-speakers are white and 37.1% are coloured.

[6] The language categories: Indian, other European and other languages were not included in the analysis below because of the small numbers of respondents. These are the only subgroups with n < 100 (weighted).

Table 5.49: Invest in Environment Index and place of residence (urban/rural)

Invest in Environment Index	Urban	Rural	Total
Strongly agree / agree	41.6% 25.7%	58.4% 31.9%	100% 29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.50: Environmental Activities Index and place of residence (urban/rural)

Environmental Activities Index	Urban	Rural	Total
Mainly have	30.9% 13.6%	69.1% 31%	100% 22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.51: General Environmental Index and place of residence (urban/rural)

General Environmental Index	Urban	Rural	Total
Strongly agree / agree	38.1% 45.3%	61.9% 59.3%	100% 53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

It was shown in Section 5.3.2 of this chapter that people living in rural areas are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation in South Africa. This pattern is the opposite of the international trend. Tables 5.49 to 4.50 show a similar pattern. Those living in rural areas are over-represented regarding all three indexes and those living in urban areas under-represented.

Table 5.52: Invest in Environment Index and province

Invest in Environment Index	Gau-teng	North Prov	Mpu-ma-langa	North West	Kwa-Zulu-Ntl	Free State	East. Cape	West. Cape	North Cape	Tot
Strongly agree / agree	26.5% 32.6%	6.7% 19.9%	5.9% 27.4%	5.2% 20.6%	17% 25.9%	9.3% 44.2%	14.7% 28%	12.7% 32.3%	1.9% 42.2%	100% 29%

N=20 133 weighted

Table 5.53: Environmental Activities Index and province

Environmental Activities Index	Gau-teng	North Prov	Mpu-ma-langa	North West	Kwa-Zulu-Ntl	Free State	East Cape	West Cape	North Cape	Tot
Mainly have	35.4% 36.6%	6% 13.9%	2.8% 8.7%	7.4% 20.5%	19.1% 19.9%	5% 18.1%	8.2% 12.2%	8.2% 12.2%	2.5% 2.5%	100% 22.3%

N=20 112 weighted

Table 5.54: General Environmental Index and province

General Environmental Index	Gau-teng	North Prov	Mpu-ma-langa	North West	Kwa Zulu-Ntl	Free State	East Cape	West Cape	North Cape	Tot
Strongly agree / agree	28.7% 62.7%	6.7% 32.4%	3.5% 48.9%	6.5% 69.6%	17% 49.5%	4.3% 47.3%	16.4% 49.7%	14.2% 55.6%	2.7% 77.8%	100% 53.1%

N=13 904 weighted

Only two provinces are over-represented regarding all three indexes, namely Gauteng and the Northern Cape. The Northern Province, on the other hand, is under-represented regarding all three indexes and Mpumalanga, North West, and Free State are under-represented in two of the three tables.

Although the relationship between province and active membership and the relationship between province and environmental concern show some similarity, there are also a number of contradictions. Gautengers are both more likely to be active members and more likely to be environmentally concerned, while those living in Mpumalanga are less likely to be active members of an environmental organisation and less likely to be environmentally concerned.

The Western Province, under-represented regarding active membership, is also under-represented in Table 5.53, but proportionally represented in Tables 5.52 and 5.54. KwaZulu-Natal on the other hand, is over-represented regarding active membership, but proportionally represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment* and *General Environmental Indexes* and under-represented regarding the *Environmental Activities Index*. Furthermore, the Northern Cape is over-represented regarding all three indexes, but under-represented regarding active membership.

In summary: the following demographic and socio-economic characteristics are proportionally over-represented amongst the environmentally concerned as measured by the *Invest in the Environment*, *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*:

- an educational level of high school completed or higher
- part-time worker
- manager/employer or employed in professional sector, works in a office or is a supervisor/foreman
- self-identified as a member of the upper, upper middle and lower middle class
- earns R3000 per month or more
- identified by the interviewer as Indian or coloured
- Afrikaans or English-speaking
- lives in a rural area
- lives in Gauteng or the Northern Cape

The profile of the environmentally concerned differs from the above profile as many of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are proportionally over-represented are minority characteristics.

The demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmentally concerned is:

- Has some high school education or completed high school (61.7% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 62.8% - *Environmental Activities Index* and 60.2% - *General Environmental Index*)
- either full-time employed (37.4% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 40.7% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 39.5% - *General Environmental Index*) or unemployed (22% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 18.6% - *General Environmental Index*)

- has never had a job (26.4% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 21.9% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 21.7% - *General Environmental Index*) or is a skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual labourer (34.2% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 28.7% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 33.8% - *General Environmental Index*)
- upper-middle or lower-middle class (37.8% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 54.3% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 45.2% - *General Environmental Index*)
- has monthly income R1 999 or less (48.6% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 32.7% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 42.6% - *General Environmental Index*)
- classified as black (65.8% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 40.9% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 51.1% - *General Environmental Index*)
- Afrikaans- or English-speaking (34.3% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 58.3% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 48.8% - *General Environmental Index*)
- lives in a rural area (58.4% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 69.1% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 61.9% - *General Environmental Index*)
- lives in Gauteng (26.5% - *Invest in the Environment Index*, 35.4% - *Environmental Activities Index*, 28.7% - *General Environmental Index*)

5.3.4 Discussion

The findings regarding the demographic and socio-economic profile of the active members of an environmental organisation and the environmentally concerned as measured by the *Invest in the Environment*, *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* are discussed together in this section. Similarities and differences between the two profiles are pointed out in order to construct a profile of people who tend to be active in or sympathetic towards environmental/green issues.

The expected profile of a typical environmentalist/green can be summarised as young, having an above average educational level, urbanised, either employed in the information or professional sector or not employed in formal job categories, and with a higher than average income. The expected profile of the typical South African environmentalist/green can be summarised as having completed matric or a higher educational qualification, employed in the professional sector, white and Afrikaans- or English-speaking. No consistent pattern was found regarding age, residential location (urban/rural divide) and gender.

Table 5.55 Comparison between international, expected SA and SA pattern regarding the demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmentally active/concerned

Variable	International pattern	Expected SA pattern	Findings of this study
Gender	No data	No pattern	No pattern
Age	Young	No pattern	No pattern
Urban/rural	Urban	No data	rural
Profession/occupation	Professional information sector Self or not formally employed	Professional sector	Professional sector Manager/employer Office workers Part time or not formally employed
Education	Above average/college	Completed high school or higher	Completed high school or higher
Income	Above average	No data	Above average

This study found that gender is not a good predictor either of active membership of an environmental organisation or of environmental concern.

Previous studies regarding relationship between environmental concern and age in South Africa have produced contradictory results. Two studies found that older people tend to be more environmentally concerned while one study found no correlation between the two variables (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998:30-33, 95). The finding of this study is that there is a strong correlation between age and active membership, but no conclusive pattern regarding age and environmental concern. Respondents in the age group 16-29 are more likely to be an active member of an environmental organisation. This group also seems to more willing to pay higher prices and taxes to prevent environmental degradation, but less likely to be environmentally concerned as measured by the *General Environmental Index*. On the other hand, the age group 45+ is over-represented regarding the *General Environmental Index*, but less likely to invest in the environment. No pattern was found regarding the relationship between age and the *Environmental Activities Index*.

Status of employment is a good predictor of active membership of an environmental organisation. Part-time workers and students are proportionally over-represented among active members. Part-time workers, the self-employed and housewives are also over-

represented among the environmentally concerned as measured by the *Environmental Activities Index*. It is argued that these groups may have more flexible time-schedules that enable them to be more active in voluntary organisations. The same pattern was found in other studies conducted in Europe and North America. There is not, however, a pattern regarding the relationship between status of employment and the other measures of environmental concern, i.e. *Invest in the Environment* and *General Environmental Indexes*.

The environmental/green movement has been linked with the so-called new middle class. These are people who work in the professional, information and service sector, but exclude the business sector and blue collar workers. It is not possible to make a similar analysis in this study. The PAGEC study (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found that those employed in the professional sector are more likely to be environmentally concerned than blue collar workers. This study confirms those findings. Those who work as managers/employers, professionals, those in the armed forces or security services, and students, are proportionally over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations while manual labourers (skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled) are proportionally under-represented. Managers/employers, professionals, office workers, supervisors/foremen and farmers are also more likely to be environmentally concerned than agricultural and unskilled manual workers.

Class (self-placement) is a good predictor of environmental concern. Those respondents who categorised themselves as members of the upper and upper-middle class are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation as well as more likely to be environmentally concerned. The lower-middle class is over-represented among the environmentally concerned. A lower class respondent is less likely to be an active member of an environmental organisation or to be environmentally concerned than the general population.

The findings regarding class are confirmed by the findings regarding educational level and income. Supporters of the environmental/green movement tend to have a higher than average income. Income correlates positively with active membership of an environmental organisation. The dividing line regarding the *Invest in the Environment* and *General Environmental Indexes* is between those earning more than R3 000 per month and those earning less. The first dividing line regarding the *Environmental Activities Index* is between those earning R5 000 and more per month and those earning less. An income of

R5 000 or more per month seems to be the general dividing line for the environmentally concerned and for active members.

Education level has been linked to environmental concern throughout the world, including South Africa. This trend has been confirmed by this study. Respondents who completed high school or a higher qualification are more likely to be a active members of an environmental organisation than those with some high school or less education. The same group is also more likely to be environmentally concerned than the group with some high school or less education.

The South African environmental/green movement has often been described as a white middle class movement. It is argued that black South Africans feel alienated from the natural environment because of negative experiences in the past. The PAGEC study (Fiedeldey *et al*, 1998) found that ethnicity is the most important predictor of environmental concern. The PAGEC study used language to define ethnicity and the study was limited to Afrikaans-, English-, South Sotho- and Zulu-speakers in Gauteng. In this study two indicators of ethnicity were used, namely race as defined by the interviewer, and home language.

Race was found to be a good predictor of active membership of an environmental organisation and of environmental concern. The findings regarding language are more ambiguous. Whites and Indians are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation while people classified as coloured are less likely to be active members. However, Indians and those classified as coloured are more likely to be environmentally concerned while blacks are less likely to be environmentally concerned. Whites are significantly over-represented amongst those who had undertaken specified activities out of environmental concern in the twelve months preceding the survey. This is consistent with the findings regarding active membership. Whites are also over-represented amongst those who agree or strongly agree with environmental values as measured by the *General Environmental Index*.

Whites, Indians and coloureds can therefore be regarded as more likely to be part of the environmental/green movement than blacks, even though coloureds tend not to become involved in the organised environmental/green movement.

The findings regarding home language are more ambiguous. Findings regarding active membership and the environmentally concerned gave contradictory results. English-, Sotho, Pedi and Venda-speakers are over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations while Xhosa-, Ndebele- and Swazi–speakers are under-represented. Afrikaans- and English-speakers tend to be more environmentally concerned while none of the indigenous African language groups are over-represented regarding more than one index. The findings regarding the relationship between environmental concern and home language are consistent with those regarding race and environmental concern as the majority of whites, Indians and coloureds are Afrikaans- or English-speaking.

The environmental/green movement is usually associated with urbanites. However, the South African movement seems to be stronger in rural areas regarding both active membership of an environmental organisation and environmental concern.

No South African data exists regarding the relationship between the variables province, active membership of an environmental organisation and the environmentally concerned, as previous studies were confined to limited geographical areas, for example Roodepoort and Gauteng. The current division of provinces in South Africa is also relatively new, being introduced with the new political dispensation in 1994. There are few similarities regarding the relationship between province and active membership and the relationship between province and environmental concern. The only consistent pattern seems to be that Gautengers are more likely to be both active members of an environmental organisation and to be environmentally concerned.

The findings of this study confirm that people with a higher than average socio-economic status is more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation and/or environmentally concerned. Gender does not correlate with either active membership or environmental concern, while no clear pattern emerges regarding age and province when findings regarding active membership and environmental concern are combined. Ethnicity, as indicated by race and home language, does provide a clear picture. Afrikaans- and English-speaking people and people classified as white, coloured and Indian are more likely to be

active members as well as environmentally concerned. People living in rural areas are over-represented.

The overwhelming majority of South Africans are black and/or poor. The subgroups that are proportionally over-represented tend to be minority groups in the South African society. Therefore, the profile of the organised and informal environmental/green movement differs from the profile of those more likely to be active members and environmentally concerned. The profile of the active members and environmentally concerned combined is as follows:

- between 16 and 44 years old
- has some high school education or completed high school
- never has had a job or manual labourer
- upper-middle and lower-middle class
- earns less than R2 000 per month
- classified as black or white
- Zulu-, Xhosa-, Afrikaans- or English-speaking
- lives in a rural area

The demographic and socio-economic profile of the environmentally active and concerned has been discussed in this section. In the next section, the relationship between these groups and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values will be established.

5.4 Prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist goals and environmentalism

Taylor (1998) found that materialism and prematerialism is a more appropriate value dimension for South African society. She also found that very few South Africans can be regarded as postmaterialists. This is reflected by Tables 5.56 to 5.58 based on the same data set used by Taylor (see Section 5.2 of this chapter for the construction of the indexes). If one uses the combined total of the pure and high-ranking, just over 40% of the respondents can be identified as materialists (42.6%), just over a third as prematerialists (36.5%) and only 1.3% as postmaterialists. Most respondents were mixed types prioritising mainly prematerialist and materialist values. Few prioritised only one set of values (indicated as pure) or did not rank one set of values at all. Very few respondents gave high priority to postmaterialist values and none

prioritised only this set of values. Though Taylor (1998:99) used a different method to construct her indexes, she also found that respondents tend to prioritise prematerialist and materialist values, while the mean score on postmaterialism is a low 2.08 with 10 equalling pure type and 1 equalling not ranked.

Table 5.56: Frequency of prematerialism

	%
Pure	0.9
High	35.6
Low	63.3
Not ranked	1.2
Total	100
Missing	-

N = 23 725 weighted

Table 5.57: Frequency of materialism

	%
Pure	0.8
High	41.4
Low	56.4
Not ranked	0.4
Total	99.1
Missing	0.9

N = 23 502 weighted

Table 5.58: Frequency of postmaterialism

	%
Pure	0
High	1.3
Low	82.7
Not ranked	16
Total	100
Missing	-

N = 23 725 weighted

Tables 5.59 to 5.61 show the relationship between active membership of an environmental organisation and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist goals.

Table 5.59: Active members of an environmental organisation and prematerialism

	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Active membership of an environmental organisation	4.2% 32.9%	37.2% 7.6%	56.6% 6.6%	2% 12.4%	100 7.3%

N = 23 725 weighted

According to Inglehart's theory, active membership of an environmental organisation should correlate positively with postmaterialist values. However, in Chapter 3 it was argued that many of the environmental/green movements in developing societies also concern themselves with issues that correspond to prematerialist values. The literature regarding the environmental/green movement in South Africa showed a pattern similar to that in other developing societies. Table 5.59 shows that prematerialists are indeed over-represented amongst active members of an environmental organisation. A comparison of column percentages shows that almost a third of pure prematerialists (32.9%) are active members in contrast to 7.3% of the total sample. Most active members of an environmental organisation ranked prematerialist values high (37.2%) or low (56.6%). Very few active members did not rank some prematerialist values as first, second or third most desirable goals within each set of six sub-questions.

Table 5.60: Active membership of an environmental organisation and materialism

	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Active membership of an environmental organisation	0.6% 5%	29.9% 5.2%	66.7% 8.6%	2.7% 49%	100% 7.3%

N = 23 502 weighted

As expected, pure materialists as well as those who ranked materialist goals high are slightly under-represented among active members of an environmental organisation. Almost two thirds of the active members ranked materialist goals low. However, very few (2.7%) did not rank materialist values at all.

Table 5.61: Active members of an environmental organisation and postmaterialism

	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Active membership of an environmental organisation		3.6% 20.9%	87.1% 7.7%	9.3% 4.3%	100% 7.3%

N = 23 725 weighted

None of the respondents have been identified as pure postmaterialists. Those respondents who ranked postmaterialist goals high are over-represented regarding active membership of an environmental organisation (20.9% against 7.3% of the total sample). In addition, those who did not rank postmaterialist values are under-represented in this regard. This confirms Inglehart's proposition that postmaterialists are more likely to be environmentally concerned than materialists.

In summary: prematerialists and postmaterialists are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation than materialists. This is consistent with the literature on the environmental/green movement in developing societies, but contradicts Inglehart's theory that does not make provision for circumstances in developing societies.

The relationship between environmentalism/greens and prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist goals is the main theme of this thesis. The relationship between environmental concern, as measured by the *Invest in the Environment*, *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* and prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism is discussed in this section.

Table 5.62: Invest in Environment Index and prematerialism

Invest in Environment Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Strongly agree / agree	0.8% 34.1%	33.1% 28.5%	64.7% 29.1%	1.5% 35.9%	100% 29%

N = 23 725 weighted

Table 5.63: Environmental Activities Index and prematerialism

Environmental Activities Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Mainly have	0.5%	26%	71.2%	2.3%	100%
	11%	16.4%	25.4%	44.3%	22.3%

N = 23 725 weighted

Table 5.64: General Environmental Index and prematerialism

General Environmental Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Strongly agree /	0.4%	28.1%	69.6%	1.9%	100%
agree	27.7%	46.7%	56.1%	71.3%	53.1%

N = 23 725 weighted

Table 5.59 shows that prematerialists tend to be active members of an environmental organisation in disproportionate numbers. However, this subgroup is proportionally under-represented regarding environmental concern as measured by the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*. The pure prematerialists are over-represented regarding the *Invest in the Environment Index*, while the subgroup that gives high priority to prematerialist values is proportionally represented regarding this index. It seems therefore that there is a negative relationship between prematerialism and environmental concern. However, it should be taken into consideration that the three indexes do not include issues typical of the environmental/green movement in developing societies such as environmental justice items (see Chapter 3.4.3.2). Environmental justice items would correspond more closely to survival issues and are therefore likely to be linked to prematerialist values. It is possible that this factor may explain the difference between the findings regarding environmental concern and active membership and should be investigated further.

Table 5.65: Invest in Environment Index and materialism

Invest in Environment Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Strongly agree /	0.4%	37.1%	61.4%	1.1%	100%
agree	10.6%	24.6%	32.7%	83.5%	29.1%

N = 23 502 weighted

Table 5.66: Environmental Activities Index and materialism

Environmental Activities Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Mainly have	0.9%	50%	48.7%	0.4%	100%
	23.4%	26.5%	19.2%	24.4%	22.3%

N = 23 502 weighted

Table 5.67: General Environmental Index and materialism

General Environmental Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Strongly agree /	1%	50.4%	48.4%	0.2%	100%
agree	48.4%	61.3%	47.1%	12.5%	53.1%

N = 23 502 weighted

Materialists are either proportionally under-represented or proportionally represented regarding the three indexes measuring environmental concern. The only exception is the General Environmental Index. The subgroup that ranked materialist values high is disproportionately over-represented regarding this index. The pure materialists are, however, proportionately under-represented in this regard. It seems therefore that materialism has a negative relationship with environmental concern. However, it is not a strong relationship.

Table 5.68: Invest in Environment Index and postmaterialism

Invest in Environment Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Strongly agree / agree		1.9% 41.7%	87.7% 30.7%	10.4% 19%	100% 29%

N = 23 725 weighted

Table 5.69: Environmental Activities Index and postmaterialism

Environmental Activities Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Mainly have		2.3% 42.9%	84.5% 22.9%	13.2% 17.7%	100% 22.3%

N = 23 725 weighted

Table 5.70: General Environmental Index and postmaterialism

General Environmental Index	Pure	High	Low	Not ranked	Total
Strongly agree / agree		2% 56.2%	82.7% 52.2%	15.4% 57.8%	100% 53.1%

N = 23 725 weighted

Just as there is a positive relationship between active membership of an environmental organisation and postmaterialism, there seems to be a positive relationship between environmental concern and postmaterialism. The postmaterialists are the only group that is proportionally over-represented regarding all three indexes measuring environmental concern.

The findings of this section confirm Inglehart's proposition that the environmental/green movement could be linked to postmaterialism. Postmaterialism correlates positively both with active membership of an environmental movement and environmental concern. Further-more, it was found that materialism has a negative relationship with environmental concern. Postmaterialists are more likely to be environmentally concerned and to be active

members of the organised environmental/green movement while materialists are less likely to do so.

It was argued in Chapter 3 that postmaterialism does not satisfactorily explain environmentalism in developing societies and that the environmental/green movement in these societies seems to organise around prematerialist issues. The findings of this study have been contradictory in this regard. Although it was found that a disproportionate number of prematerialists are active members of the organised environmental/green movement, a negative relationship was found between prematerialism and environmental concern. However, the indexes measuring environmental concern did not include any issues typical of environmental organisations in developing societies such as neighbourhood issues, health issues and access to resources.

5.5 The "don't know" factor in environmentalism

The percentage of missing cases is very high for the *Invest in the Environment*, *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes*, especially the latter with 41.4% missing cases. This is mainly due to the high percentage of "don't know" responses that were treated as missing cases in the construction of the three indexes.

"Don't know" responses are problematic as one can at best speculate about the reasons for selecting the answer. Ignorance about the relevant issues is only one of the possible reasons. However, Dunlap & Scarce (1991:654) found that growing support for environmental issues usually coincide with a decline in the percentage of "don't know" responses. Therefore, growth of environmental support is probably rather the result of those who have been uncertain becoming positive towards environmental concern, than those who had negative attitudes becoming positive towards environmental issues. They argue therefore that the "don't know" response group is an important target group for environmentalists/greens that should be mobilised if the movement is to keep growing.

5.5.1 Demographic and socio-economic profile of the "don't know" response group

The demographic composition and socio-economic status of the "don't know" response is discussed in this section to construct a profile of the typical "don't know" respondent.

The items used to construct the *General Environmental Index* were cross-tabulated with the demographic and socio-economic variables used in the rest of this chapter, namely:

- gender
- age
- educational level
- status of employment (Employed or not? If employed how many hours per week?)
- professional or occupational categories
- class (self-placement by respondent)
- income
- ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)
- home language
- urban/rural residential location
- province.

The *General Environmental Index* was selected because of the high percentage of missing cases. The seven items are:

A8.2 Humans have no right to use nature except to satisfy basic human needs.

A8.3 Present levels of pollution of nature are too high.

A8.4 Humankind was created to rule over the rest of nature.

A8.5 The country's present population growth rate is a serious threat to the environment.

A8.6 The way in which I live will ensure that my children inherit a clean and healthy environment.

A8.7 Nature will have to be sacrificed in order to satisfy basic needs in South Africa.

A8.8 Ownership of land gives one the right to do anything on it.

The percentage of "don't know" responses for the individual items used to construct the *General Environmental Index*, range from 11.5% to 23.7% However, the "don't know" responses ranges between 11.5% and 14% with only item A8.3 having a higher "don't

know" response rate of 23.7% and item A8.5 18.9%. Opinions regarding both these items required some measure of factual information about pollution and population growth. It is possible that the high "don't know" response for these two items is due to a lack of information in a society with a low average educational level. One is also more likely to give an opinion on an issue that one has not really thought about, if it does not require access to factual information.

The following variables were found to be predictors of high "don't know" responses: level of education, profession or occupation, class, income, ethnicity, and home language. The two strongest predictors are level of education and income.

Table 5.71: "Don't know" response and level of education

Don't know response	Some prim school or less	Some high School	High completed	Some univ Postmatric	Univ completed	Post-graduate	Total
A8.2	54.6% 20.3%	36.3% 9.4%	6.1% 4.8%	2.7% 4.6%	0.3% 1.1%	-	100% 11.4% N = 2714*
A8.3	51.9% 40%	42.6% 22.8%	4.2% 7%	1.1% 3.8%	0.2% 1.4%	-	100% 23.7% N = 5613*
A8.4	46.1% 20.3%	42.9% 13.1%	7.7% 7.3%	2.5% 5.1%	0.7% 3.7%	-	100% 14% N = 3208*
A8.5	50.3% 30.9%	41.2% 17.6%	6.6% 8.7%	1.2% 3.3%	0.6% 4.5%	0.1% 1.7%	100% 8.9% N = 4477*
A8.6	42.3% 19.2%	46.3% 14.7%	6.6% 6.4%	3.4% 7.1%	1.1% 5.6%	0.3% 3.6%	100% 14% N = 3317*
A8.7	41.5% 19.2%	46% 14.8%	8.4% 8.4%	3% 6.3%	0.7% 4%	0.3% 3.6%	100% 14.2% N = 3372*
A8.8	48.6% 18.3%	40.1% 10.5%	6.3% 5.1%	3.9% 6.7%	0.3% 1.3%	0.7% 6.6%	100% 11.6% N = 2743*

*** weighted**

Level of education seems to be a good indicator of "don't know" responses. The category of primary school or less education consistently has disproportionately high rates of "don't know' responses, while those who have completed high school or more consistently have disproportionately low rates of "don't know" responses. This trend is particularly apparent regarding responses to items A8.3 and A8.5, the two items that have the highest "don't know" response rate and that require some measure of factual information. This corresponds to the findings in Section 5.3.3 of this chapter. It was found that people who have completed high school or more are more likely to be environmentally concerned than those who have primary school or less education.

Table 5.72: "Don't know" response and profession/occupation

Don't know response	Manager/ Employer	Profession -al	Office worker	Foreman/ supervisor	Skilled & semi-skilled manual labourer	Unskilled manual labourer	Farmer
A8.2	1.4%	0.7%	2.6%	0.3%	13.4%	28.6%	0.3%
	3.9%	1.3%	3.6%	2.4%	10.1%	14%	3.3%
A8.3	1%	0.9%	1.1%	0.6%	13.4%	35.7%	0.3%
	5.5%	3.4%	3.2%	11.6%	20.8%	36.3%	4.8%
A8.4	1.7%	3%	3%	0.3%	11.2%	30.9%	0.3%
	5.5%	6.7%	4.8%	3.7%	10%	17.9%	4.8%
A8.5	2.1%	1%	1.8%	0.2%	10.9%	34.7%	0.6%
	9.5%	3.2%	4%	3.1%	13.5%	28.1%	12.4%
A8.6	2.7%	1.9%	3.9%	0.1%	12.6%	29.4%	0.2%
	8.9%	4.5%	6.6%	1%	11.5%	17.6%	3.3%
A8.7	1.7%	1.9%	4.2%	0.8%	12.5%	33.1%	0.2%
	5.7%	4.5%	7.1%	9.6%	11.7%	20.2%	3.3%
A8.8	1.6%	1.5%	3.6%	0.4%	10.7%	32.6%	0.3%
	4.5%	3%	4.9%	4.1%	8.1%	16.2%	3.3%

Table 5.72: "Don't know" response and profession/occupation (continue)

Don't know response	Agric worker	Armed forces	Never had a job	Student	Refused/not answered	Total
A8.2	14%	0.7%	36.3%	1.3%	0.4%	100%
	20.1%	7.7%	14.6%	5.9%	5.7%	11.4%
						N = 2715*
A8.3	12.9%	1%	31.3%	1.9%	-	100%
	38.5%	21.8%	26.1%	17.9%		23.7%
						N = 5614*
A8.4	11.6%	0.3%	34%	3.4%	0.3%	100%
	19.7%	3.4%	16.2%	18%	5.7%	13.5%
						N = 3207*
A8.5	13.9%	0.6%	32.5%	1.7%	0.0%	100%
	32.9%	11.1%	21.6%	12.7%	1.1%	18.9%
						N = 4477*
A8.6	13.3%	0.7%	32.5%	2.6%	-	100%\
	23.3%	8.8%	16%	14.3%		14%
						N = 3318*
A8.7	9.4%	1.1%	32.6%	2.3%	0.3%	100%
	16.8%	13.7%	16.3%	12.9%	5.7%	14.2%
						N = 3374*
A8.8	11.9%	1%	33.6%	2.3%	0.5%	100%
	17.3%	10.7%	13.7%	10.4%	8.6%	11.6%
						N = 2754#

*weighted

Managers/employers, professionals and office workers are proportionately under-represented regarding "don't know" responses to all seven items. Foremen and farmers also tend to be under-represented in this regard. The only group that is over-represented regarding the majority of the items is agricultural workers. They are over-represented regarding items A8.2, A8.3, A8.5, A8.6 and A8.8. This finding is consistent with findings of Section 5.3.3 of this chapter, namely that managers/employers, professionals, office workers, foremen/supervisors and farmers are more likely to be environmentally concerned than agricultural workers, unskilled manual labourers and those who have never had a job.

Table 5.73: "Don't know" response and class (self-placement)

Don't know response	Upper	Upper middle	Lower middle	Working	Lower	Don't Know	Total
A8.2	0.3%	4.7%	7.5%	21.8%	54.4%	11.2%	100%
	2.5%	23.8%	5.5%	11%	15.5%	22.2%	11.5%
							N = 2716*
A8.3	0.2%	2.4%	11.2%	20.6%	54.6%	11%	100%
	3.4%	4%	16.9%	21.6%	32.2%	44.8%	23.7%
							N = 5614*
A8.4	0.3%	4.8%	13.9%	18%	49.9%	13%	100%
	3.4%	4.5%	12%	10.8%	16.8%	30.4%	13.5%
							N = 3208*
A8.5	0.4%	3.2%	9.7%	22.9%	54.2%	9.6%	100%
	6.3%	4.1%	11.7%	19.1%	25.5%	31.3%	18.9%
							N = 4476*
A8.6	-	6.8%	10.3%	22.6%	50.4%	9.9%	100%
		6.6%	9.2%	14%	17.6%	23.9%	14%
							N = 3317*
A8.7	1%	5.5%	11.1%	21.6%	47.1%	13.6%	100%
	10.3%	5.4%	10.1%	13.6%	16.7%	33.5%	14.2%
							N = 3372*
A8.8	0.2%	5.5%	10.7%	16.7%	51.7%	15.1%	100%
	1.9%	4.4%	7.9%	8.6%	14.9%	30.2%	11.6%
							N = 2743*

*weighted

Those respondents who consider themselves as upper class are proportionately under-represented regarding the "don't know" response rate for all seven items. Those who consider themselves upper-middle class are also under-represented for all the items with the exception of item A8.2, namely: "Humans have no right to use nature except to satisfy basic human needs".

Table 5.74: "Don't know" response and income per month

Don't know response	14000 +	9000-13999	7000-8999	5000-6999	3000-4999	2000-2999
A8.2		0.5% 1.6%	1.8% 4.2%	1% 4%	1.8% 5.1%	4.8% 7.1%
A8.3	0.2% 2%	0.3% 1.9%	0.1% 0.5%	0.5% 3.8%	1.7% 9.9%	6.1% 18.8%
A8.4	0.3% 2.5%	0.5% 1.7%	1.7% 4.7%	0.2% 1%	2% 6.4%	5.1% 9%
A8.5		0.3% 1.6%	1% 3.7%	0.2% 1.3%	1.9% 8.5%	5.9% 14.4%
A8.6	1% 7.2%	0.5% 1.8%	2.2% 6.1%	1.1% 5.5%	2.4% 8.2%	8.7% 15.8%
A8.7	0.2% 1.3%	0.7% 2.7%	2.1% 6.1%	1.1% 5.5%	2.4% 8.2%	8.7% 15.8%
A8.8	0.8% 5.1%	0.3% 0.8%	1.5% 3.3%	0.9% 3.8%	1.6% 4.5%	5.3% 8%

Don't know response	1000-1999	Up to R999	refused/ no answer	Total
A8.2	16.1% 10.9%	59.9% 16.3%	14.1% 10.2%	100% 11.4% N = 2715*
A8.3	15.7% 22.2%	63.3% 35.7%	12% 18.1%	100% 23.7% N = 5615*
A8.4	17.8% 14.3%	54.1% 17.4%	18.2% 15.6%	100% 13.5% N = 3207*
A8.5	12.8% 14.3%	64.7% 29.1%	13.3% 15.8%	100% 18.9% N = 4475*
A8.6	12.5% 10.4%	58.2% 19.4%	13.4% 11.9%	100% 14% N = 3319*
A8.7	16.7% 14.1%	57.2% 19.4%	13.8% 12.5%	100% 14.2% N = 3373
A8.8	15.3% 10.5%	60.1% 16.6%	14.2% 10.4%	100% 11.6% N = 2745*

*weighted

Income also seems to be a good indicator of "don't know" responses. Those who earn R2 000 or more a month tend to be under-represented, while those who earn R999 or less tend to be over-represented regarding "don't know" responses. This is also consistent with the findings in Section 5.3.3 of this chapter that a person earning more than R3 000 a month is more likely to be environmentally concerned than a person earning less than R2 000 per month.

Table 5.75: "Don't know" response and ethnicity (as recorded by interviewer)

Don't know response	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
A8.2	3.5%	90.2%	1.4%	5%	100%
	2.5%	14.1%	6.2%	6.8%	11.5%
					N = 2715*
A8.3	0.7%	96.4%	0.6%	2.4%	100%
	1%	31.2%	5.2%	6.8%	23.7%
					N = 5615*
A8.4	0.7%	89.6%	2.3%	4.4%	100%
	1%	16.5%	12%	7.2%	13.5%
					N = 3208
A8.5	1.9%	93.7%	0.9%	3.5%	100%
	2.2%	24.1%	6.6%	8%	18.9%
					N = 4475*
A8.6	5.4%	89.8%	0.9%	3.9%	100%
	4.8%	17.1%	4.9%	6.6%	14%
					N = 3317*
A8.7	5.2%	86.3%	1.7%	6.9%	100%
	4.6%	16.8%	9.2%	11.7%	14.2%
					N = 3373*
A8.8	4%	90.1%	0.4%	5.5%	100%
	2.9%	14.2%	1.8%	7.6%	11.6%
					N = 2742*

*weighted

Whites are under-represented regarding "don't know" responses to all seven items, while Indians and coloureds are under-represented in this regard to the majority of the items. Blacks are slightly over-represented among the "don't know" responses for items A8.3,

A8.5, A8.6 and A8.7. According to the findings in Section 5.3.3 of this chapter, whites, Indians and coloureds are more likely to be environmentally concerned than blacks.

Table 5.76: "Don't know" response and home language

Don't know response	Eng	Afr	Zulu	Xhosa	Tswana	Sotho	Pedi	Venda
A8.2	3.8%	6.1%	31.8%	12.5%	16.4%	5.7%	11.4%	0.2%
	4.1%	4.4%	15.7%	8.5%	18.6%	10.1%	15.2%	2%
A8.3	1.3%	2.3%	34.9%	12.6%	18.5%	8.4%	9.9%	0.5%
	3%	3.4%	35.6%	17.8%	43.5%	30.8%	27.2%	10.2%
A8.4	4.7%	5.7%	42.5%	13.4%	9.9%	8.4%	5.6%	0.6%
	6%	4.8%	24.8%	10.8%	13.3%	17.5%	8.9%	7.5%
A8.5	2.2%	4.1%	31.6%	12.7%	20.7%	6.7%	11.6%	0.8%
	3.9%	4.8%	25.7%	14.2%	38.8%	19.6%	25.4%	15%
A8.6	4.1%	5.9%	37.9%	11.9%	7.5%	12.7%	9.7%	1.1%
	5.4%	5.2%	22.8%	9.9%	10.4%	27.6%	15.8%	14.2%
A8.7	6.7%	7.2%	32.1%	13.5%	15.4%	6.6%	7%	1.3%
	8.9%	6.4%	19.7%	11.4%	21.7%	14.6%	11.5%	16.9%
A8.8	5.1%	5.2%	32.8%	11.5%	15.5%	7.7%	9.8%	1.3%
	5.5%	3.7%	16.4%	7.9%	17.8%	13.8%	13.2%	14.1%

Don't know response	Tsonga/ Shangaan	Ndebele	Swazi	Indian	Other Euro	other	Total
A8.2	7.3%	-	4.6%	0.3%	-	-	100%
	23.8%		27.5%	42.1%			11.5%
							N = 2716*
A8.3	5.9%	1.5%	4.1%	-	-	-	100%
	40%	26.8%	50.9%				23.7%
							N = 5613*
A8.4	5%	-	4%	0.2%	-	-	100%
	19.5%		27.9%	42.1%			13.5%
							N = 3208*
A8.5	4.35	1.8%	3.4%	-	0.1%	-	100%
	23.2%	24.9%	33.6%		21.1%		18.9%
							N = 4475*

A8.6	3.6% 14.4%	2% 20.4%	3.4% 25%	-	-	0.2% 26.1%	100% 14% N = 3317*
A8.7	6.3% 25.5%	0.7% 7.9%	3.1% 23.3%	-	0.1% 21.1%	-	100% 14.2% N = 2274*
A8.8	6.4% 21.1%	-	4.7% 28.1%	-	-	-	100% 14.2% N = 2743*

*weighted

English- and Afrikaans-speakers are under-represented regarding "don't know" responses to all seven items, while Swazi-speakers are over-represented to all seven items in this regard. Tsonga/Shangaan- and Tswana-speakers are also over-represented regarding "don't know" responses for the majority of the items. According to the findings of Section 5.3.3 of this chapter, English and Afrikaans-speakers are more likely to be environmentally concerned than Zulu-, Tswana-, Pedi-, and Tsonga/Shangaan-speakers.

5.5.2 Discussion

The seven items used to construct the third environmental index, measuring agreement with values and attitudes, were cross-tabulated with the eleven demographic and socio-economic variables used throughout this chapter. It was found that level of education, profession/occupation, class, income, ethnicity and home language can be used as predictors for the "don't know" response. Two variables, level of education and income, seem to be especially strong predictors for this response.

The percentage of "don't know" responses for items A8.3 and A8.5 are much higher than for the other five items. Where the percentage of "don't know" responses ranges between 11.5% and 14%, the percentage for item A8.3 is 23.7% and 18.9% for item A8.5. Opinions regarding both items require some measure of factual information regarding the effects of pollution and population growth. The two items are:

A8.3 present levels of pollution in nature is too high, and

A8.5 the country's present population growth rate is a serious threat to the environment.

The demographic and socio-economic profile of the "don't know" group is consistent with the findings regarding the environmentally concerned: the demographic and socio-economic groups that seem to be less likely to be environmentally concerned also seem to be more likely to have a disproportional high rate of "don't know" responses. This indicates that these groups do not necessarily tend to have negative attitudes towards environmental/green issues, but rather lack the knowledge or interest to have an attitude towards environmental/green issues – whether positive or negative. The "don't know" response group is therefore an important target group to mobilise if the environmental/green movement is to keep on growing. Dunlap & Scarce (1991:654) found that a decline in "don't know" responses coincides with a growth in support for environmental issues.

The following demographic and socio-economic attributes are over-represented among the "don't know" responses:

- a low level of education, especially primary school or less education.
- earning less than R999 per month.
- agricultural workers
- blacks
- Swazi-, Tsonga/Shangaan-, and Tswana-speakers.

Level of education and income are the two variables that showed a clear dividing line between respondents more likely to answer "don't know" and the rest of the respondents. Both the two subgroups that are more likely to answer "don't know" include a significant section of the South African population. Almost a third of the respondents (30.8%) have a primary school education or less and 42% earn R999 per month or less.

5.6 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, a demographic and socio-economic profile was compiled of active members of environmental organisations and the environmentally concerned. These two aspects were investigated by means of the World Value Survey data set of 1995. The universe of this data set is adult South Africans older than 16 and it was stratified

according to province, population and community size. The 1995 sample size was 2 935 and weighted to the full population.

Six indexes were constructed for this purpose. Three of the indexes measure environmental concern, namely an *Invest in the Environment Index*, *Environmental Activities Index* and *General Environmental Index*. None of the three indexes is an ideal measuring instrument. The reliability of the *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* as measured by Cronbach's alpha is just below 0.8, the usual cut-off score, and all three emphasise aspects of environmental concern associated with developed societies and exclude environmental aspects typical of developing societies. All three indexes, especially the *General Environmental Index*, have a high percentage of missing cases due to the large number of "don't know" responses. Another three indexes were constructed to identify prematerialists, materialists and postmaterialists.

Inglehart linked the growth of environmentalism to a value shift from materialism to postmaterialism. Taylor (1998) introduced a third concept, namely prematerialism. She found that the prematerialist-materialist value axis is more valid in South Africa than the materialist-postmaterialist axis. The link made between environmentalism and postmaterialism has also been criticised by a number of researchers such as Brechin & Kempton (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) as it does not explain the growth of environmentalism in developing societies.

This study confirms the link between postmaterialism and environmentalism. Postmaterialists are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation and to be environmentally concerned. Materialists, on the other hand, are less likely to be active members of an environmental organisation or to be environmentally concerned. No conclusive finding could be made regarding the relationship between prematerialism and environmentalism. Prematerialists are proportionally over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations, but are under-represented amongst the environmentally concerned. However, the indexes do not include environmental justice items and include very few environmental issues and values typical of developing societies. The category of active membership, that is open to interpretation of the

respondent, is not limited in this regard. This is an aspect that should be addressed in a future survey.

The socio-economic and demographic profile of the environmental/green movement, based mainly on studies in Europe and North America, shows that the typical member:

- is young
- has a higher than average educational level
- lives in a urban area
- has a higher than average income, and
- either works in the professional or information sector or falls outside the formal job categories.

Two profiles were constructed. Firstly, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are proportionally over-represented amongst the active members of environmental organisations and the environmentally concerned were identified. Secondly, the demographic and socio-economic profiles of the two groups were compiled. This was necessary as many of the subgroups that are over-represented amongst the active members and the environmentally concerned form very small minorities within South Africa. The profiles of the active members of environmental organisations and the environmentally concerned were combined to provide a broader picture of the active and potential members of the organised and informal movement. The following variables were used to compile the profile:

- gender
- age
- level of education
- status of employment (Employed or not? If employed how many hours per week?)
- professional or occupational categories
- class (self-placement by respondent)
- income
- ethnicity (race as recorded by interviewer)
- home language
- urban/rural residential location
- province.

The study confirms the expected pattern that people with a higher socio-economic status are more likely to be active members or environmentally concerned. Class, income, educational level and profession/occupation are good predictors of both active membership and environmental concern. The following demographic and socio-economic characteristics are proportionally over-represented among active members of an environmental organisation and the environmentally active:

- self-identified as upper and middle class (upper and lower)
- income of more than R5 000 per month
- educational level of high school completed or higher, and
- non-manual labour (e.g. managers/employers, professionals, office workers, students and working in the armed/security forces).

In addition, part-time workers and students are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation than full-time workers, the self-employed, housewives and the unemployed. Part-time workers are also over-represented amongst those who have undertaken specified activities out of environmental concern, as measured by the *Environmental Activities Index*.

Gender does not correlate with either active membership or environmental concern, while no clear pattern emerges regarding age and province when findings of active membership and environmental concern are combined. The only consistent finding regarding province is that people from Gauteng are over-represented while those living in Mpumalanga are under-represented among the active members as well as the environmentally concerned. Ethnicity as indicated by race and home language provides a clearer picture. (Respondents were classified in race groups by the interviewer using the census categories). Afrikaans- and English-speaking people and whites, coloureds and Indians are more likely to be active members as well as environmentally concerned. People living in rural areas are also over-represented.

The profile of the active members of an environmental organisation and those identified as environmentally concerned differs from the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are over-represented. The combined profile of these two groups is as follows:

- between 16 and 44 years old
- has some high school education or completed high school
- full-time worker or either unemployed or a student
- has never had a job or manual labourer
- upper-middle and lower-middle class
- earns less than R2 000 per month
- classified as black or white
- Zulu- Xhosa-, Afrikaans- or English-speaking
- lives in a rural area
- lives in Gauteng.

The environmental/green movement can therefore not be regarded as a white middle class movement, even though this group may be proportionally over-represented.

The organised environmental/green movement in South Africa as represented by members of environmental organisations is very small. 7.3% of the respondents are active members of an environmental organisation and a further 11.7% are inactive members. The environmentally concerned are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation. However, between 59% and 70% of those identified as environmentally concerned are not members of an environmental organisation. This indicates that the organised environmental/green movement has not been able to involve the majority of the environmentally concerned as either active or inactive members.

The percentage of missing cases is very high for the three environmental indexes, especially the third index with 41.4% missing cases. This is due to the high percentage of "don't know" responses that were treated as missing cases in the construction of the three indexes. Dunlap & Scarce (1991:654) have found that the decline of "don't know" responses contributes to growing support for environmental issues. The "don't know" subgroup is therefore an important target group to mobilise if the environmental/green movement is to keep growing. Two variables, education and income, are the strongest predictors for "don't know" responses. The poorer section of the population, i.e. those earning R999 per month or less, and those with little or no education, i.e. primary school or less, are more likely to answer "don't know" than the rest of the population.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The primary research aim in this study is to determine the growth potential of the environmental/green movement in South Africa using Ronald Inglehart's value change theory. Inglehart's value change theory, based on materialist-postmaterialist values enjoys wide acceptance within environmental/green political studies to determine the growth potential of environmentalism. However, his theory is criticised as inadequate by researchers working on environmentalism in developing societies. Therefore, a second aim of this study is to establish the relationship between prematerialist, materialist and postmaterialist values and the environmental/green movement in South Africa, a developing society, with the aim to expand Inglehart's theory to include developing societies.

With this purpose in mind, the larger part of the study deals with the theories regarding the nature of the environmental/green movement and the underlying value systems that are used to mobilise support for the movement. The study also includes a demographic and socio-economic profile of active members of environmental organisations in South Africa and the environmentally concerned as identified by the *Invest in the Environment*, *Environmental Activities* and *General Environmental Indexes* constructed from the World Value Survey.

In this study it was hypothesised that:

- The environmental/green movement is a diverse movement that is linked to prematerialist as well as postmaterialist values.
- There is limited potential for growth of European style green parties in South Africa.
- The potential support base for the South African environmental/green movement is broader than the conventional new middle class.

6.2 Methodology

The study is based on both literature study and survey research. The literature study focuses on the values, principles and issues concerning the environmental/green movements in both developed and developing societies. The survey consists of a secondary analysis of the 1995 World Value Survey data set. The World Value Survey was developed by Inglehart and others for his research regarding materialism and postmaterialism (later broadened to modernism and postmodernism). Markinor conducted the survey in South Africa in 1981, 1990 and 1995. The universe of the sample design of the first two surveys excluded all blacks (1981) and rural blacks (1990). The universe of the 1995 sample design consisted of all South Africans older than 16 and was stratified according to province, population and community size and weighted to the full population. The 1995 sample size was 2 935 and the data from this survey can be used to make deductions about patterns in the general adult population of South Africa.

The 1995 South African World Value Survey provides valuable data in that it contains several items measuring environmental concern that is widely used (see for example Dunlap & Scarce, 1991; Gillroy & Shapiro, 1986; Mohai & Bryant, 1998). It is also the only South African data set with a national sample universe that can be used to construct a value and demographic profile of the environmentally concerned. Thirdly, it is the only World Value Survey data set that includes the concept prematerialism, enabling one to analyse the relationship between prematerialism and environmentalism.

However, the World Value Survey data set also has significant shortcomings for the purpose of this study. Although the items measuring environmental concern is widely used, they do not cover all forms of environmentalism, especially those particular to developing societies. The study is therefore limited to an investigative study regarding the relationship between environmentalism and prematerialism.

6.3 Values and environmentalism

The study was conducted within the framework of Ronald Inglehart's value change theory. Inglehart links the growth of environmentalism to a value shift from materialism towards

postmaterialism. Various studies, e.g. Burke (1989), Eckersley (1989), Fitzmaurice (1991), Lee & Kidd (1997), Papadakis (1984), Stouthuysen (1983) and Swyngedouw (1994), agree with Inglehart that there is a link between postmaterialism and environmentalism. However, researchers such as Brechin & Kemp (1994) and Dunlap & Mertig (1997) question this relationship between environmentalism and postmaterialism as it does not explain the high levels of environmentalism in developing societies. The theory is also at odds with the diversity of values, principles and issues within the movement, both in developed and developing societies.

This diversity within the environmental/green movement can be illustrated by the different eco-philosophies or discourses within the movement. They are:

- Preservationism: A romantic view of nature that emphasises the goodness of a pastoral rural life and connects individual creativity, happiness and fulfilment with proximity to unspoiled nature.
- Resource conservationism: This refers to the efficient management and development of nature to ensure the sustainable use of natural resources on the one hand and the "improvement" of nature on the other.
- Human welfare ecology: This discourse defines the dependence of human survival on the survival of the present ecosystem. Participants focus on human impact on the natural environment on a global scale, e.g. pollution, biodiversity and human ability to destroy the world with nuclear energy and weapons.
- Political ecology: This discourse defines environmental problems in terms of socio-political relations e.g. the distribution of political power and material resources. It includes social ecology, environmental justice and people of colour environmentalism.
- Deep ecology: The two key aspects of deep ecology are the interconnectedness of all life and secondly that all natural things have intrinsic value or inherent worth. Protection of non-human species is therefore justified in terms of the inherent worth of these species and not in terms of human survival and aesthetic needs.
- Ecofeminism: The exploitation and domination of the earth by humans is related to the exploitation and domination of women by men. Ecofeminists believe that so-called feminine qualities such as nurturing, care and co-operation should be emphasised and so-called male qualities such as competition, control, exploitation and aggression be rejected.

- Bioregionalism: Bioregionalists seek to establish small and diverse social communities according to geographical and natural boundaries. These communities function as small political entities with decentralised social and political structures.
- Animal liberationists: This discourse defines animals having intrinsic rights and moral worth independent of their utility for humans. This discourse is not as extreme as deep ecologists and usually manifests in the form of various "humane" societies.
- Ecosocialism: This discourse defines the environmental/green movement in terms of Marxist theory. The environmental/green movement is seen as a social movement of the poor and marginalised who struggle to obtain access and control of resources such as agricultural land and water. Environmental problems are described in terms of the exploitation of the poor and of natural resources by the rich.
- Indigenous ecology: This discourse refers to the alliance between the environmental/green and indigenous movements for the purpose of preserving and promoting traditional ecological knowledge. This alliance reflects the view that indigenous knowledge and practices can provide a model for a sustainable lifestyle.

Materialism and postmaterialism are measured with either a four or a twelve item index. Materialists prioritise economic and physical security, while postmaterialists prioritise quality of life issues. The six materialist goals used in the twelve item index are:

- control of inflation
- fight against crime
- stable economy
- economic growth
- maintaining order
- adequate defence forces.

The six postmaterialist goals used in the twelve-item index are:

- more say on the job
- less impersonal society
- more say in government
- society where ideas count
- more beautiful cities
- freedom of expression.

The environmental/green movement addresses quality of life issues that are linked to a value shift towards postmaterialism. These issues are reflected in the values and principles of European style green parties and the environmental/green movement in general. The main principles of the environmental/green movement are:

- reverence for life
- interdependency and sustainability
- anti-modernity
- social justice and non-violence
- revalorization of tradition, and
- participatory democracy and autonomy.

The movement also uses elite-challenging political activities and rejects hierarchical systems that are also defining characteristics of postmaterialism. The link between environmentalism and postmaterialism is therefore confirmed by literature on the two phenomena. The environmental/green movement is also regarded as a new social movement. New social movements are in turn linked to postmaterialism, but some of these movements, especially those typical of developing societies such as the anti-eviction movement and indigenous movement, also focus on survival issues. New social movements challenge the dominant cultural discourse in societies. They are issue-oriented and value-driven. New social movements tend to address quality of life issues and the production of symbolic goods. New social movements tend to be dominated by the new middle class, but address issues that cut across class interests. New social movements in developing societies differ from their counterparts in developed societies in this respect as their participants include peasants and indigenous peoples.

Although the positive relationship between environmentalism and postmaterialism is accepted some of the values, issues and principles addressed by the environmental/green movement raise the question of whether environmentalism cannot also be linked with prematerialist values, as the movement also focuses on survival issues, especially in developing societies. These issues are:

- problems regarding resource depletion
- access to resources

- health problems, and
- poverty issues.

The concept of prematerialism, which was introduced in the 1995 World Value Survey in South Africa, may shed more light on the relationship between values and environmentalism in developing societies. Prematerialists prioritise survival values. The six prematerialist goals added to the materialist-postmaterialist goals in the survey are:

- providing shelter for all people
- providing clean water for all people
- making sure that everyone is adequately clothed
- making sure that everyone can go to school
- providing land for people
- providing everyone with enough food to eat.

A clearer understanding of the relationship between prematerialist and postmaterialist values on the one hand and environmentalism on the other is important for establishing the growth potential of environmentalism in South Africa. If the growth of environmentalism is related to a shift towards postmaterialism, the growth potential of the environmental/green movement is very small in South Africa. South Africa is one of only two surveyed countries that are becoming more materialist rather than more postmaterialist over the period 1991 to 1995. Inglehart attributes this to the political transformation and violence experienced by South Africans during the 1990s. It is unlikely that South Africa will become postmaterialist in the near future. South Africa has very few postmaterialists and there is little difference between the values of the young and older birth cohorts. Intergenerational replacement is therefore unlikely to bring about much change.

Furthermore, Taylor (1998) found that the prematerialist-materialist value dimension has more validity in South Africa than the materialist-postmaterialist value dimension. She also found that some support for postmaterialism in previous surveys could have been the result of a constrained choice as the measured level of postmaterialism in South Africa decreased after the introduction of prematerialist values into the World Value Survey. Therefore, if environmentalism can be linked to prematerialism, it will not only provide a theoretical explanation for the growth of environmentalism in developing societies, but also may

indicate that environmentalism does face a positive future in South Africa, providing that the environmental/green movement includes survival issues in their programmes.

6.4 The South African environmental/green movement

The South African environmental/green movement can be linked to both prematerialism and postmaterialism, on the basis of a literature study as well as an analysis of the 1995 World Value Survey data set.

The South African environmental/green movement is a diverse movement that focuses on both quality of life and survival issues. The movement originally focused on conservationist and preservationist issues, but human welfare ecologism, political ecologism and animal liberationalism have become more influential since the 1980s. The environmental/green movement has tried to broaden its supporter base by emphasising the needs of the working class, e.g. industrial health, and obtained the co-operation of trade unions. Environmental degradation has also been linked to social injustice. The struggle against social injustice and poverty is therefore seen as necessary to obtain a healthy environment.

This diversity of issues is borne out by the 1995 World Value Survey data. Six indexes were constructed to analyse the relationship between environmentalism and values. Three indexes measured prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism respectively. The second group of three was constructed to measure environmental concern. However, these indexes are biased towards environmentalism as it is manifested in developed societies. The three environmental indexes, together with active membership of an environmental organisation, were cross-tabulated with demographic and socio-economic variables to build a profile of the environmentally concerned. In this way, it could be established firstly, whether the profile of the South African movement corresponds to the profile of the global environmental/green movement and secondly the relationship between environmentalism and prematerialism-postmaterialism value orientations.

The link between postmaterialism and environmentalism has been confirmed by this study. Postmaterialists are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation and

to be environmentally concerned than the general population. Materialists, on the other hand, are less likely to be active members of an environmental organisation or to be environmentally concerned. No conclusive finding could be made regarding the relationship between prematerialism and environmentalism. Prematerialists are proportionally over-represented amongst active members of environmental organisations, but are under-represented amongst the environmentally concerned. However, the three indexes that measure environmental concern do not include environmental justice items and include very few environmental issues and values typical of developing societies. Just under 33% of pure prematerialists are active members of an environmental organisation by contrast with 7.3% of the population. This strong relationship between prematerialism and active membership of an environmental organisation, as well as the link between the environmental/green movement and survival issues as identified in the literature, suggests that this aspect should be followed up with more research.

Two profiles were constructed of the movement. Firstly, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are proportionally over-represented amongst the active members of environmental organisations and the environmentally concerned were identified. Secondly, the demographic and socio-economic profiles of the two groups were compiled. Constructing the two profiles was necessary as many of the subgroups that are over-represented amongst the active members and the environmentally concerned form very small minorities within the South African community. The profiles of the active members of environmental organisations and the environmentally concerned were combined to provide a broader picture of the active and potential members of the organised and informal movement. The following variables were used to compile the profile:

- gender
- age
- level of education
- status of employment ("Employed or not? If employed how many hours per week?")
- professional or occupational categories
- class (self-placement by respondent)
- income
- ethnicity (race as recorded by interviewer)
- home language

- urban/rural residential location
- province.

The study confirms the expected pattern that those with a higher socio-economic status are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation or to be environmentally concerned. Class, income, educational level and profession/occupation are good predictors of both active membership and environmental concern. This corresponds to findings regarding the global environmental/green movement as well as the socio-economic profile of postmaterialists.

People who classified themselves as upper class and middle class (upper and lower), earn more than R5000 per month, completed high school or a higher educational qualification and do not do manual labour (e.g. managers/employers, professionals, office workers, students and working in the armed/security forces) are over-represented. In addition, part-time workers and students are more likely to be active members of an environmental organisation than full-time workers, the self-employed, housewives and the unemployed. Part-time workers are also over-represented amongst those who have undertaken specified activities out of environmental concern as measured by the *Environmental Activities Index*.

Gender does not correlate with either active membership or environmental concern, while no clear pattern emerges regarding age and province when findings of active membership and environmental concern are combined. The only consistent finding regarding province is that people from Gauteng are over-represented and those living in Mpumalanga are under-represented among the active members as well as the environmentally concerned. Ethnicity as indicated by race and home language provides a clearer picture. Afrikaans- and English-speaking people and people classified as white, coloured and Indian tend to be more likely to be active members as well as environmentally concerned. People living in rural areas are also over-represented.

The profile of the movement differs from the demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are over-represented. The combined profile of the active members and environmentally concerned is as follows:

- between 16 and 44 years old

- have some high school education or completed high school
- full-time worker or either unemployed or a student
- never had a job or manual labourer
- upper and lower middle class
- earns less than R2000 per month
- classified as black or white
- Zulu- Xhosa-, Afrikaans- or English-speaking
- lives in a rural area
- lives in Gauteng.

The movement can therefore not be regarded as a white middle class movement, even though this group may be proportionally over-represented.

The organised environmental/green movement in South Africa as represented by members of environmental organisations is very small. Just more than 7. of South Africans are active members of an environmental organisation and a further 11.7% are inactive members. The environmentally concerned person is more likely to be an active member of an environmental organisation. However, between 59% and 70% of those who were identified as environmentally concerned are not members of an environmental organisation. This indicates that the organised environmental/green movement has not been able to involve the majority of the environmentally concerned as either active or inactive members.

The percentage of missing cases is very high for the three environmental indexes, especially the third index with 41.4% missing cases. This is due to the high percentage of "don't know" responses that were treated as missing cases when the three indexes were constructed. Although it is impossible to determine the reasoning behind "don't know" responses, Dunlap & Scarce (1991:654) argued that the decline of "don't know" responses contributes to growing support for environmental issues. The "don't know" subgroup can therefore be seen as an important target group to mobilise if the environmental/green movement is to keep growing. Two variables, education and income, are the strongest predictors for "don't know" responses. The poorer section of the population – those earning R999 per month or less – and those with little or no education, i.e. primary school

or less, are more likely to answer "don't know" to the separate items of the environmental indexes than the rest of the population.

6.5 Future research

Although evidence has been found that there may be a link between prematerialism and environmentalism, this proposition has not been confirmed conclusively. Further research is necessary to establish whether postmaterialists and prematerialists mobilise around different kinds of environmental issues. Surveys should therefore be conducted using different environmental indexes that measure attitudes towards:

- global environmental problems
- neighbourhood environmental problems
- environmental justice problems, and
- poverty issues such as health, access to resources and resource degradation.

6.6 Main findings

The study addresses the growth potential of environmentalism in South Africa and prematerialism, materialism and postmaterialism as indicators of the growth potential. The main findings of this study are:

- The South African environmental/green movement is a significant section of the South African population. 7.3% of the population are active members of an environmental organisation, while a further 11.7% are inactive members.

- The environmental/green movement is a diverse movement that addresses both quality of life and survival issues, especially in developing societies.

- The relationship between postmaterialism and environmentalism has been confirmed.

- There is evidence that environmentalism can also be linked to prematerialist values and that prematerialism can be used to expand Inglehart's theory to make it applicable to

developing societies. However, more research using a more suitable database is necessary to make conclusive findings in this regard.

- The European style green parties that tend to mobilise around postmaterialist issues have a bleak future in South Africa as the country's population tend to mobilise around prematerialist and materialist issues.

- The environmental/green movement in South Africa seems to have outgrown its image of white and middle class. Although this section of the population is over-represented, the combined profile of those who are active members of an environmental organisation and the environmentally concerned is dominated by the less well-off, blacks and people who have never had a job or are manual labourers.

If the environmental/green movement wants to broaden its support base, the following two sections of the population have to be mobilised.

- Firstly, between 59% and 70% of the respondents that were identified as environmentally concerned are not members of an environmental organisation.
- Secondly, the "don't know" response group has been shown to be the most likely to contribute to the growth of a movement. In South Africa this group consists of the poor and poorly educated. The educational and promotional programmes of the environmental/green movement have to be accessible to this group of people. Mobilising around prematerialist or survival issues will probably also address the needs and goals of the "don't know" response group.

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